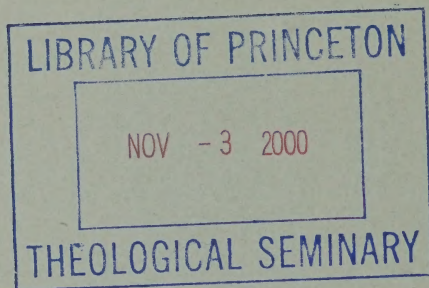


Christian  
Roots of  
Democracy  
*in America*

*Arthur E. Holt*



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IN AMERICA

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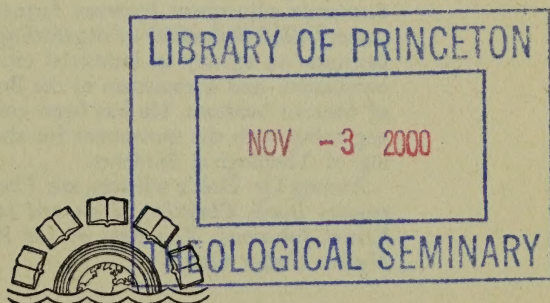


*By Arthur E. Holt*

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CHRISTIAN ROOTS  
*of*  
DEMOCRACY  
*in*  
AMERICA

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THE REVEREND ARTHUR ERASTUS HOLT, Ph.D., was born in Longmont, Colorado, and is a graduate of Colorado College. He studied theology at Yale and McCormick seminaries and took his doctor's degree at the University of Chicago in 1904. Ordained the same year to the Congregational ministry, he held pastorates of that church in Pueblo, Colorado, and Manhattan, Kansas. From 1916 to 1919 he was minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Fort Worth, Texas. He has been since 1924 professor of social ethics in Chicago Theological Seminary and the Divinity School of the University of Chicago.

In 1929-30 Dr. Holt was asked to serve as regional consultant for India, Burma and Ceylon in a survey of the foreign work of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. He returned to India in the winter of 1936-37 as visiting professor in the Sir Dorabji Tata School of Social Service, Bombay. He has traveled widely in South America, the Far East, and South and Central Africa.

Dr. Holt has been for many years a close student of the relations between Christianity and democracy, and has given special attention to the problems of economic adjustment between farmers and city consumers. He cooperated in organizing the Mullenbach Institute—an agency of industrial citizenship and reconciliation—and is chairman of the Board of Directors of Merom Institute. He has been connected from its beginning with the movement for the Clinical Training of Theological Students.

Among Dr. Holt's writings are *The Bible as a Community Book*, *Christian Ideals and Industry* (with F. Ernest Johnson), *The Fate of the Family*, and *This Nation Under God*.

To

SHIRLEY and ELLEN GREENE  
of Merom Institute

FRANK and EDITH McCULLOCH  
of James Mullenbach Industrial Institute  
and

DR. ANTON T. BOISEN  
of the Institute for Clinical Training  
of Theological Students

All Workers on New Frontiers





THE MAJOR PART OF THIS BOOK WAS GIVEN IN EARL  
LECTURES AT THE PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION AND  
THE SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL WORK AT THE UNIVERSITY  
OF CALIFORNIA DURING THE AUTUMN OF 1940.





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## *From the Author to the Reader*

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THE great moral judgments are comparatively simple. They are not the result of considerations of utility; they demand not an advanced technical knowledge, but a faith in the dignity and worth of men, a belief that people everywhere are much the same, that our neighbors feel as we do.

Over two hundred years ago John Woolman was born in the little village of Northampton, New Jersey. A boy of moderate intelligence, at the age of seven he first became aware of the operation of divine love. In the years following, John Woolman insisted that this divine love in his heart was his most precious possession and that it had implications for all of his life. Whenever for any reason he failed to honor its promptings, he found that he had lost it for a time, and he grew uneasy and disturbed. On the other hand, he discovered that acting contrary to present outward interest from a motive of divine love and truth and righteousness opened the way to a treasure better than silver and to a friendship exceeding the friendship of men.

Thinking through the implications of divine love made

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John Woolman do some rather strange deeds. It made him, first of all, sensitive to the welfare of the slaves. There was nothing especially learned in his judgment about slaves and slavery. His judgment was not reached by any statistical methods. It was based entirely upon the single assumption that the slave was a fellow being like himself in his likes and dislikes. He used his imagination on how it must feel to be a slave. After doing so he decided that, as a notary public, he would not write any more wills in which men handed on their slaves to their children. He felt that he did not care to accept hospitality which was built upon oppression of black men. He went about among his Quaker friends urging them that slavery was wrong and that as good Quakers they should free their slaves. Twenty years after John Woolman's death the practice of slavery had ceased in the Society of Friends.

But John Woolman's experience of divine love made him sensitive to the welfare of other people. When he went to Europe he rode in the steerage and wrote, "I believe a communication with different parts of the world by sea is at times consistent with the will of our heavenly Father, and to educate our youth in the practice of sailing I believe may be right, but how impure are the channels through which trade is conducted! How great is the danger to which poor lads are exposed when placed on shipboard to learn the art of sailing!" In a similar way his sympathy went out to the Indians. He looked upon the Indian as a fellow being like



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himself and he rejoiced when he had fellowship with him.

No one denies that there is to society a technical side, a realm of social organization where leadership must be in the hands of the scientist and engineer. But there is another side just as important and here leadership still lies in the hands of the moral and spiritual leader. Progress waits until religion can reawaken in the lives of thousands of men that social sympathy which was in the heart of John Woolman.

Few of us realize how pagan are the basic ideas on which modern life is trying to build and how futile the attempt is sure to be. An industry must be technically right, but it is just as necessary for an industry or a state to be morally right. It was not a churchman but an eminent economist, John Maurice Clark, who recently reminded us that the relation of religion to social control has been, and is, important, and that the modern Protestant church faces the hardest task of all: it must make men generally unselfish from within.

In this book we are talking about the religious foundations of democracy. These religious foundations dwell in little fellowships of the holy imagination which keep alive in men sensitivity to moral issues. They might be called "Islands of Brotherhood" where men look out upon society not in terms of technical organization but in terms of moral and spiritual values. If there had been five hundred John Woolmans creating these little fellowships of the imagination prior to 1850, they might have saved the United States

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the tragedy of the Civil War. If there were an order of ten thousand such men working across national boundary lines, organizing little "islands of brotherhood," they might constitute the leaven which would save Western civilization.

It is the thesis of this book that the establishing of churches is important. Churches do three things which are important to democracy. They help people to worship. Worship is basic self-direction. They teach people to read the Bible. The Bible contains those great basic truths which, if accepted and acted upon, would make human association possible. Churches create in people a sense of concern for other people. They constitute a culture-transcending fellowship which reaches out beyond points of race and class and geography.

Churches rest back upon the conscience of the people. A little over a hundred years ago it was decided by the American people that churches must depend upon voluntary support of common folk. Great cooperative agencies grew up which have made possible the extension of churches to every corner, hamlet and group in the United States. It is the contention of this book that something very important happens when we establish churches. We are saving democracy from within.

If I were to lead into a community an invading army which would tear down the churches, schools, places of business and halls of justice, I would not have injured the

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community permanently, because when the invading army was gone the people would build again the courthouses, the schools, the places of business and the churches, for that would still remain which made those places necessary. But if I should lead into the community an invasion of bad ideas which destroyed faith in justice, faith in the value of industry, the belief in intelligence and the family virtues, although the buildings stood, that would have been destroyed which made the buildings necessary.

It has been the function of the great agencies of church extension to lead into our American communities an invasion of ideas about God, brotherhood and human duty. These ideas have found earthly sanctuary in institutions we call churches. Here men pray, exhort, read the Scriptures and hold human fellowship about the great questions of God, human destiny and questions of right and wrong. We can be glad that men in great cooperative adventures have had a concern that this invasion penetrate to every American community, for by this means our democracy is undergirded. To this cause this book is dedicated.





CHRISTIAN ROOTS OF DEMOCRACY  
IN AMERICA



## CHAPTER I

### *The Social Excitement of the Present Hour*

---

LET us try to understand the social excitement of the present hour. There is abundant evidence that we are in the midst of one of the most profound social changes which has ever shaken Western civilization. Western Christianity and democracy are under challenge today from three competing economies—fascism in Italy, National Socialism in Germany and communism in Russia. Here is being staged the great battle of the centuries.

On the one hand the leaders of the democracies would say:

We believe we can trust the people to cooperate in self-government.

We believe that education which respects individual judgment and does not turn a university into a group of “yes men” is worth fighting for.

We believe that a church which can stand over against the state and look the state in the face and criticize it in the name of the highest good is worth dying for.

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We believe that a God before whose will race, class and nation must walk humbly is worthy of worship.

We believe that the state cannot possibly be the teacher of morals.

### DEMOCRACY'S COMPETITORS

But to all this the competitors of democracy would say:

It is true that Western democracy has given to the vocations, especially those which flourish in the city—money-lending, trading and manufacturing—the greatest opportunity, but how about the workers in the factory and on the farm?

It is true that education of a type has flourished, but it is not of the type which helps man in the crises of life. Liberal education cannot plan.

The worship of the God of love is faint music beside the Götterdämmerung of roaring guns and screaming bombers.

These challengers of the democratic way come forward then with some sharp alternatives:

In place of the importance of the individual and the right of private initiative, private judgment and private property, they offer the importance of the race, or of the state, or of the proletariat mass.

In place of appeal to the law of common consent and social change through education, they propose first the seeking of power by a group and rule by propaganda.

In place of religion they sanctify the state and the rule



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of the masses and reject religion as the opiate of the people or relegate it to the status of tool of the state.

### DEMOCRACY MUST RESTATE ITS CASE

Gradually our people are being forced to ask and answer certain questions about the nature of Christianity and the nature of democracy and their relationship to each other.

Missionaries and leaders of Christian churches in non-democratic states meet daily in its most critical form the question: "Can Christianity live inside a fascist state?" Christianity *can* live inside a fascist state, but will it not be like a mushroom, with little sun and air? It lived for three hundred years inside the Roman Empire, but was its life not the molelike existence of the catacombs?

Can Christianity live inside of empires where the missionary has to accept the fact that he is guest of the government and therefore can say nothing against it? Could Christianity live in a democracy which is reputed to be ruled by sixty families? It once lived in a land ruled by feudal lords.

Christianity and man's government operate from different centers. Their lives may cross but their regions are not identical. Christianity is culture-transcending, although it cannot be culture-ignoring. "But," I hear some people say, "doesn't Christianity transcend all temporal states? What, in the final analysis, does it have to do with man-made governments?"

A student of American affairs has said that every year

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four hundred million tons of good topsoil go down the Mississippi River and that the time has come when the American people must, while still maintaining an interest in seed selection, turn their attention to the conservation of the soil in which the seed must grow. Democracy's relationship to Christianity might be that of soil to seed: it constitutes the soil in which Christianity can grow.

Democracy, we might say, is that kind of economy which, when it is through with you, leaves you a person of spiritual maturity. It is more interested in spiritual maturity than it is in the perfection of the social arrangement itself. Someone has thus defined the difference between democracy and the totalitarian state: "The totalitarian state is like a great ocean liner which starts out with charts perfected, all the officers in their places, but if it strikes an iceberg it goes down with all on board; a democracy is like a raft; you absolutely can't sink it, but your feet are always wet!"

Democracy might be described as that arrangement between the various functions of society, religion, education, family, business and state, which allows freedom in order that there may be cooperation.

### THE GREAT DEMOCRATIC ASSUMPTIONS

Professor Charles Edward Merriam, head of the Department of Political Science at the University of Chicago, declares that the five assumptions of democracy are:

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1. The importance of the individual.
2. A belief in the gradual improvement of mankind.
3. The gains of a commonwealth are mass gains and should be shared by the masses.
4. The political power of a nation should be distributed.
5. Progress should be by education and common consent.

When asked if he could prove the validity of these assumptions in the same way that so-called scientific hypotheses were proved in the laboratory, Professor Merriam's reply was that he could not. These assumptions, he said, are held in a good deal the same way that men hold religious truths. In fact, he commented, we are much indebted to the ecclesiastics for them.

A defender of the cooperatives once characterized them as "the best consumers of the preacher's product." He saw the preachers as producers of character, and the cooperative as the type of social arrangement which could not succeed without character.

Christians are people who believe that the goal of God's salvation is spiritual maturity on the part of man in a fellowship of men who rise above the provincial boundaries of class, race and geography into what can rightly be called a "community of the spirit."

Democracy has come down the Western corridor of time shoulder to shoulder with Christianity, but do they equate? Other elements than those coming from strictly Christian

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sources have contributed to the growth of the democracy we know today. The rule of Demos is not to be identified with the rule of Theos. Some of the ideas of democracy are Greek; the village government of Central Europe made a contribution; family experience has helped; the frontier which always develops strong individuals has pushed democracy along the road to fulfillment.

The problem which faces democracy is twofold: on the one side it is a problem of politics and economics; on the other it is a grave religious problem. It is not primarily a question of what the democracies can do against Russia as a representative of communism. The democracies might defeat Russia, but the basic problem of the democracies would remain. It is not primarily the question of what can be done against Germany and Italy as the present threatening exponents of fascism. This is important, but even though Germany and Italy should be beaten into the ground, the basic problem of democracy would not have been settled. It is not primarily the question of defending the British Empire, although one might readily admit that the British and French Empires have been more favorable to religion and democratic philosophy than either the communistic or fascist states.

### DEMOCRACY MUST BEGIN AT HOME

The problem which faces democracy is whether or not democracy can make good on its own assumptions. It is



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something which democracy must fight out for itself and with itself at home.

To state the problem more positively, it is a question of whether or not democracy can maintain its central core of values—respect for the individual and belief in the improbability of mankind as over against the perfectibility of the few. It is also a question whether or not in these trader-controlled states the gains of the commonwealth can really become mass gains, including the welfare of farmers and of labor on equal terms with that of traders. Can its power be distributed and can it do all this by a program of education and common consent rather than through dictatorship and the rule of force?

### IS DEMOCRACY A PROTESTANT CONCERN?

Above all, is it not a problem for the Protestant churches? Protestantism and democracy have come down through modern history together. Both have found it congenial to believe that men by persuasion, by agreement, by fellowship, can so organize human society as to make an ordered life possible for human beings. The Roman Catholic church has intermittently believed in democracy. It has, however, in many cases, easily come to terms with that which is the opposite of democracy. Only recently the Roman Catholic church, by public pronouncement, gave its sanction to General Franco in Spain and its approval to what Japan was "trying to do in putting down communism in China." Mili-

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tary dictatorships in South America are generously acquiesced in by the Roman Catholic church. Can true Christianity have traffic with states which are opposed to it; by such caviling does it not prostitute its own fundamental integrity?

If the democracies of the world are to be spiritualized and energized, will it remain for the Protestant churches to carry on the task? There is an interplay between Protestantism on the one hand and the democratic method on the other. There is every reason why it should be so. It was so in this country. The little democratic religious groups sought democratic expression in political life. John Mason Peck, the pioneer Baptist home missionary in the newly-opened Middle West, had the good will of Thomas Jefferson because he believed that these little democratic religious groups would energize the democratic political movement. When you get a National Socialist government, does not such a government have a way of steam-rolling democracy out of religious groups? Would it be fair to say that if any country which has had a democratic religious life should come under the control of a dictatorship, life would be crushed out of democratic religion? These two movements—democracy in political life and democracy in religious life—reinforce each other or die together.

Now from this do not two conclusions seem to be inevitable? Protestantism must take seriously the threat to itself in the fascist and communist revolts. Something terrible will happen to the world if it gives up the idea of living

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by persuasion, by social cohesion, by fellowship and by progress through mutual exchange of ideas. Again, must not democracy take seriously its stake in Protestantism? Will not something terrible happen to democracy if society gives up its faith in a God who has called man to a great fellowship of believers and whose aim is spiritual maturity here on earth? Must not Protestantism dedicate itself more thoroughly to the task of seeing that democracy works and that democracy understands the stake which it has in freedom of religion and religious worship? Both together must face the fact that over the horizon is coming the greatest threat which they ever faced. This is the essence of the social excitement of the present hour.

## CHAPTER II

### *Democracy in the Old Testament Community*

---

WE are the inheritors of a great Hebrew tradition. It comes to us in a book which is made up of laws, personal histories, stories of conflict, poetry and philosophy. It is a record of a pilgrimage in the direction of spiritual maturity on the part of a people.

Some time ago I was driving across the country and I turned on the radio. A make-believe Indian up in Chicago was telling Indian folk tales to a radio audience of young people scattered over the Middle West. I listened for a time to the glorification of nature and the praise of rugged skills and virtues which had belonged to this race and I finally said:

"It is not enough; the folklore of the nature children does not furnish the food on which can be nourished the minds and hearts of a generation which will be tested as this one must be tested. Why fool the minds of the children? There is but one body of literature in which is faced all the petty absolutes which are rising to baffle the minds



## *Democracy in the Old Testament Community*

of this generation. Call the people who study it the 'Bible Belt' if you want to; if they study the Bible intelligently they won't believe in the divine right of kings, they won't make a fetish out of blood or soil, they won't believe that the nation is an ultimate fact, they won't render unto Caesar the homage which is due unto God."

With a revival of the great beliefs of the Bible must come a revival of faith in the dignity of man and his capacity for social achievement, a faith that there is wisdom in common people which a government cannot get along without, that it is not a good government which does not keep alive and active the principle of consent among the people.

The God of the Hebrews is not the God of war and power nor the God of the fertility cults. He is a God who is a covenant-making, covenant-keeping God, who expects men to enter into covenant with him. The will and purpose of this God finds not one but many expressions. It is something to make people conscientious; it is more important to make them conscientious about the great issues of life. The prophetic contribution to social thinking was significant because the prophets wrote into the conscience platforms of the Hebrews planks that were fundamental. Their codified list of virtues was a significant and not a petty one. They were of the kind which would make people have a concern about the simple, fundamental issues of life. They had more of a regard for common men than they did for

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kings and princes and the great of the earth. The Hebrew stories rejoice in the times when the common people rose up and took control of their affairs. You could never build a doctrine of the divine right of kings on the basis of what is told in the books of *Judges* and *Kings* in the Old Testament.

### THE BACKGROUND OF FREEDOM

It is not possible to overestimate the significance of the fact that in the background of Hebrew life was a tradition of freedom. Men feel themselves committed to noble effort by the power of a noble tradition. In the Hebrew history the voice of God had uttered words like these: "I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters; for I know their sorrows; and I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians." (*Exodus* 3:7, 8.) It was the escape of a nomad people from forced labor in a city to the freedom of the Promised Land.

The Egyptian sojourn of the shepherds from Canaan had afforded temporary relief from famine, but on the whole it had been a costly adventure. Like the peasants of Southern Europe who come to America and find themselves colonized around the hot blasts and the smoke of our steel furnaces, the shepherds of Canaan found themselves making bricks without straw in the clay pits of Pharaoh's construction projects. How different were their surroundings from the highlands of Western Asia, where their ancestors had

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maintained the fighting edge and refused to be debtor even to the king of Salem.

### MOSES, LIBERATOR OF SHEPHERD FOLK

Moses, by the strange direction of Providence, had been raised a child of fortune in Pharaoh's court. He had been given the best education which the world could afford. He had been a successful leader and could have lived a life of ease with the dominant class, but he chose to identify himself with the welfare of the oppressed shepherds. He forfeited his privileges and became the savior of a nation.

The high points in Moses' career are four. The first is the development of his own conviction as a liberator. Beginning with the spontaneous outburst of indignation over the mistreatment of a Hebrew by an Egyptian, it gradually matured in the desert silences until he believed himself under divine commission and finally appeared before Pharaoh with the message, "Let my people go."

The second high point in Moses' career is the arousing of the will of the people to be free and the breaking of Pharaoh's will to enslave. The arousing of the will of the people to be free moves gradually forward under carefully planned educational methods, and in the breaking of Pharaoh's will to enslave, Moses has the help of God. Ten great national calamities weaken the morale of Pharaoh, until at last the will of the people to go is in accord with Pharaoh's desire to see them go, and the exodus takes place.

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The third high point is Moses' success in maintaining the morale and organization of the freedom movement. The road to freedom is a road of hardship, and only by prayer does Moses feed the resources of his own spirit and at the same time keep up the spirit of the people for the struggle.

The fourth high point is the substitution for control by Pharaoh of control by the law of God. The freedom road leads to Sinai, and Moses lays the basis of freedom in law and the institutions of law.

### SAMUEL'S EXPERIENCE WITH KINGS

After leaving Egypt, the Hebrews moved into Canaan and learned a new way of making a living. They settled on farms and the old tribal organization began to disintegrate. This caused a loss of their social and military strength. A great nationalization program was the demand of the hour, and a circuit judge by the name of Samuel became its prophet. Samuel did not like kings and we have his naming of the dangers to be encountered when a nation is organized under kings.<sup>1</sup> But it is better for a nation to be organized under kings than not to be organized at all. The unification and integration of Israel in a way which would absorb the petty tribal jealousies were of such great importance that Samuel finally decided to choose a king for Israel.

Samuel's first experiment was with a young farmer by the name of Saul, the son of a man named Kish. Saul had

<sup>1</sup> See page 18.



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courage and capacity for military leadership. He had the farmer's hatred for ceremony, and when the people wanted to make him king in a great public ceremony he hid himself among the wagons and dodged the whole performance. Saul went back to his farm from the public coronation, hitched up his oxen, and began to plow.

Word came soon after that Nahash, the Ammonite, had encamped against Jabesh-gilead and that his terms of peace were that all the people should have their right eyes put out. This threatened atrocity aroused the real kingliness in Saul, and he acted with lightning rapidity. Killing his two oxen, Saul cut them in pieces and sent bleeding pieces of meat throughout the borders of Israel with the words: "Whosoever cometh not forth after Saul and after Samuel, so shall it be done unto his oxen." (*I Samuel* 11:7.) As a mobilization slogan, this message was a success. Three hundred thousand men rallied about Saul and he smote the Ammonites from "the morning watch . . . until the heat of the day." But military integration is the easiest kind of national unity to secure. It is also the easiest to lose. When the stimulus of a common fear is removed, the people are likely to fall back into the old jealousies. It was not long before the old tribal jealousies reasserted themselves in Israel.

Samuel was disappointed in Saul's failure as a leader, but not defeated. He knew what he wanted in national life. He went in search of a new kind of leadership. He must have something better than military leadership if Israel were to



## *Christian Roots of Democracy in America*

be united. He went to the home of Jesse, the Bethlehemite, and urged him to bring his sons before him on inspection. This time Samuel was warned by a past experience and by the voice of Jehovah to "look not on his countenance, or on the height of his stature." Seven sons of Jesse passed before Samuel and all of them were rejected.

"Are here all thy children?" said Samuel to Jesse.

"There remaineth yet the youngest, and, behold, he keepeth the sheep." David, the shepherd lad, was sent for and his look of youthful vigor revealed a man with the spiritual qualities which fitted him for the task of national leadership which Samuel knew to be the need of that crucial hour in the development of his people.

### HIGH POINTS IN DAVID'S CAREER

It is not possible to trace in detail the work of David as he united the people of Israel in the greatest nationalization effort ever put forward by a Hebrew king. Under David the Hebrews reached the apex of their national career: the people were loyal, Western Asia was made safe for Hebrew ideals, and the boundaries of Israel were extended from Egypt to the river on the north. Five high points in David's career are worthy of notice.

That spiritual courage and power are more effective than physical strength was demonstrated when David met the giant, Goliath. In this one event the leadership of David advanced beyond that of mere military strength.

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In his association with Jonathan, David gave to the world one of the classic examples of friendship. He showed by the example of his own life that there was something stronger than a common fear and self-interest to bind people together. The one who united Israel knew how to rejoice in other people's success.

David refused to win the kingship by showing disloyalty to that office. His followers urged him to succeed to the kingship by murdering the king. David refused to introduce the game of king-murder into Hebrew life. The national institution was something more important than his own private success. When others were seeking to displace David in later years, he had back of him a record of loyalty which stood him in good stead.

The fourth important step in the integration of Israel was the bringing of the ark to Jerusalem and the setting up of a central place of worship. David knew that a religious people must be united in their religion if they were to be united in a great social order. Jerusalem was made the center of Hebrew religious life.

David never ceased to be a man of the people. He had those rugged qualities which made their appeal to the common man. The people never forgot that he had been a shepherd boy. They were loyal because he made the kingship a service institution. So long as he lived the shepherds and the peasants always felt that they had a "portion in Israel."

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### SOCIAL CHANGES UNDER SOLOMON

Solomon introduced the game of Oriental luxury into Hebrew life, and it seems to have been played generally at the expense of the peasants. Two quotations are significant of the way this game was enacted in Western Asia. The first is that striking passage in which Samuel had told the people what would happen when they passed under the control of kings:

This will be the manner of the king that shall reign over you: He will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and some shall run before his chariots. And he will appoint him captains over thousands, and captains over fifties; and will set them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots. And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers. And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your oliveyards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants. And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers, and to his servants. And he will take your menservants, and your maidservants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his work. He will take the tenth of your sheep: and ye shall be his servants. And ye shall cry out in that day because of your king which ye shall have chosen you. (*I Samuel 8:11-18.*)

The second quotation corroborates this description of the kind of totalitarian economics through which the Oriental kings of that period carried out their policies, and is

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found in Goodspeed's *History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*:

The policy of Sargon . . . involved the subordination of the Assyrian peasantry to the commercial and industrial interests of the state or to the possessors of great landed estates. The burden of the taxes fell upon the farmers even more heavily. They dwindled away, became serfs on the estates or slaves in the manufactories. Thus the estate organized by Sargon became more and more an artificial structure of splendid proportions but the foundations of which were altogether insufficient. Assyria's sudden collapse is so startling and unexpected as to cause surprise and demand investigation. The exhausting campaigns, the draft upon the population, the neglect of the agricultural development which is the economic basis of a nation's existence and for which industry and commerce cannot compensate, the supremacy of great landowners and the corresponding disappearance of free peasants, the employment of mercenaries and all that followed in its train, these things inseparable from military régime undermined Assyria's vitality and grew more and more dangerous as the state enlarged.<sup>1</sup>

The nationalization policy carried through by Saul and David and developed under Solomon resulted in an entirely new type of social order. To understand the revolt of the peasants under the leadership of the prophets, we must understand this transition in Hebrew life. The Hebrews moved into Palestine as shepherd clans with the old tribal organiza-

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, by George Stephen Goodspeed. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902. Used by permission.



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tion in which the elders of Israel and the judges held leadership and dispensed justice. There was no settled abode, no private land, no permanent military class, no great wealth. The maintaining of tribal relationships was a matter of supreme importance. In order to be a business success, a tribe had to be first of all a social success.

Now under Solomon we see an entirely new type of social organization. He divided his kingdom into twelve geographical provinces in each of which there was a city with political and economic advantage in the district. The most important individual in each district was an officer, evidently of the military class, who exercised authority in behalf of the king. It is the substitution of a political and economic relationship for the old tribal relationships where human values counted. Add to this the desire to collect large sums of money for military purposes and for court extravagance and also a system of conscript labor and heavy taxes, all of which fell heaviest upon the peasants, and you have the social conditions which Solomon passed on to his son Rehoboam. A most important description of social conditions at the time of the developing monarchy is given by J. F. McCurdy. One or two quotations are significant:

The clansmen, therefore, at this stage, when decisive changes were impending, were on a pretty even footing. Certain kins or family groups were, indeed, more powerful than others; but of the heads of families as a whole, none were very rich and none very poor. Nor was any freeman so low as that his voice might not be heard in council with



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the highest. But these relations began to be seriously interfered with by the first stages of the process of settlement. . . .

When all live simply and frugally, as in the good old days, there is enough for all. But luxury demands more than enough, and always succeeds in getting it. Its success involves the impoverishment of the common man. "Fiat money," of no value in any age of the world without money's worth behind it, is not issued in Israel even for temporary relief. War, famine, pestilence, come upon the nation. The concomitant privation, suffering, anxiety, and terror strike hardest upon the lower middle class and the very poor. Their lingering consequences swell further the roll of the destitute and the helpless.<sup>1</sup>

Louis Wallis, in his discriminating study of the social conditions of this period, says:

Solomon oppressed the peasantry by forced labor. This, of course, intensified the national malice against the house of David. The task work of all that part of the nation lying north of Jerusalem (the house of Joseph) was in charge of an official by the name of Jeroboam. This man, moved by sympathy and ambition, "lifted up his hand against the king." (*I Kings* 11:26 ff.). In this action, he had the support of Ahijah, the prophet, who lived in the Josephite village of Shiloh. Although Solomon was not unseated, the growth of insurgency, as we may call it, continued throughout his reign; and by the time of his death, the majority of the people were prepared to take radical action.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*, by J. F. McCurdy. Book VII. New York, The Macmillan Company.

<sup>2</sup> *A Sociological Study of the Bible*, by Louis Wallis. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1912. See especially Chapters XV to XVII. Used by permission.

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### THE FIRST PEASANTS' REVOLT

Rehoboam had grown up in the atmosphere of autocracy. He had known luxury, slaves and self-indulgence. A man is governed by his tastes as well as by his convictions. If he is trained in self-indulgence, he will often desire the life which gives him this privilege. Rehoboam comes out of the king's court with the desire to oppress and he disrupts a nation. The scene at Shechem at what was supposed to be Rehoboam's coronation is one of the critical points in human history. Someone ought to erect here a monument in honor of the peasants and farmers who took a stand for democracy which has been world wide in its influence. It proved to be the clashing point of two opposite theories of Hebrew society—the clan brotherhood and the Baalistic autocracy. Rehoboam came expecting to be king by hereditary right. The people came willing to elect him king if he showed a proper regard for their rights. They still considered that no man was king until they elected him to the kingship. Before they voted on the matter, they made to Rehoboam a very interesting and democratic proposition:

Thy father made our yoke grievous: now therefore make thou the grievous service of thy father, and his heavy yoke which he put upon us, lighter, and we will serve thee. (*I Kings* 12:4.)

Rehoboam took the matter under consideration and sent the people away for three days. He consulted two classes

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of people. One group represented those who were acquainted with the old Hebrew traditions that all the men of the tribe were brothers and that the king was to be a servant of the rest. They gave their answer in these words:

If thou wilt be a servant unto this people this day, and wilt serve them, and answer them, and speak good words to them, then they will be thy servants for ever. (*I Kings* 12:7.)

Then Rehoboam sought advice from the second group—the young comrades of the court who had been raised in the philosophy of the master class. They were quick and ready with their reply:

Thus shalt thou say unto them, My little finger shall be thicker than my father's loins. And now whereas my father did lade you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke: my father hath chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions. (*I Kings* 12:10, 11.)

It was the counsel of these young men that Rehoboam followed, and the answer of the people reflects the developing cleavage between them and the king:

What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel. (*I Kings* 12:16.)

Organization for them meant only exploitation. Rehoboam, in a futile attempt to pacify the revolting peasants, sent to them Adoram, who was head of the conscript labor gangs.

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And all Israel stoned him with stones, that he died. Therefore king Rehoboam made speed to get him up to his chariot, to flee to Jerusalem. (*I Kings 12:18.*)

### THE SECOND PEASANTS' REVOLT

The first revolt of the northern tribes against the oppressive taxation policies of the court at Jerusalem resulted in the division of the kingdom, but it did not result in the purging of the social injustice which was the cause of the popular unrest. The next revolution was also a peasants' revolution and centered more or less around Naboth's vineyard. Ahab was king of northern Israel. His reign had in many ways given evidence of material power and prosperity. He had succeeded in warding off the attacks of surrounding kings and in building his kingdom in external prosperity. But he had done this at the expense of all idealism and through the encouragement of those tendencies which were working for the oppression of the peasants. He had married Jezebel, a daughter of a priest of Baal. One incident became typical for the prophets of the policies for which Ahab stood. Ahab desired to build up a large country estate. That he might extend the borders of his estate, he desired to acquire the vineyard of Naboth, the Jezreelite. Naboth did not want to sell. He did not need to sell since his rights were protected by an ancient land law which guarded his patrimonial estate. Ahab accepted with ill-humor Naboth's unwillingness to sell. But Jezebel had been



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raised in a court and under influences where might meant right.

The first book of *Kings* in its twenty-first chapter tells the story of the plot by which Naboth was killed and the vineyard turned over to Ahab. Ahab went down to Jezreel to take possession of his newly acquired property. He was evidently trying to enjoy what his conscience did not justify him in possessing. At the same time he seemed to be expecting a rebuke from someone who represented the ancient conscience of Israel about the rights of small peasant proprietors in their estates. Elijah, the spokesman of the peasants, suddenly greets him with the words: "Hast thou killed, and also taken possession?" Ahab weakly replies: "Hast thou found me, O mine enemy?" And Elijah answers: "I have found thee: because thou hast sold thyself to work evil in the sight of the Lord."

Elijah prophesies that the blood of the peasant, Naboth, will be avenged and that the dogs will lick the blood of Jezebel in the district of Jezreel.

### THE REVOLUTION OF JEHU

Evidently the conditions became worse for the peasants and at last Elijah's successor, Elisha, chose Jehu to avenge "the blood of all the servants of the Lord, at the hand of Jezebel." In this revolution Jehu had an interesting helper in Jehonadab, the Rechabite. This sect of which Jehonadab was a member was opposed to private ownership in land

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and represented the point of view of the clan organization which prevailed when the Hebrews first came into the Promised Land.

Together Jehu and Jehonadab carried out the bloodiest revolution in Hebrew history. They did not cease in their killing until the family of Ahab was exterminated. Both Joram, king of Israel, and Ahaziah, king of Judah, were found by Jehu in Jezreel in the plot of ground once taken from Naboth by Ahab. The death of Naboth is avenged in dramatic style and both kings pay the price for having overridden the right of a Hebrew farmer in his estate. Jehu did not stop in his revolution until he had exterminated the leadership of the Baalistic cult insofar as it was possible for military methods to do this.

### PROPHETS OF PEASANTS AND HERDSMEN

In order to understand the defense of the peasants and herdsmen by the early outstanding religious leaders in Israel, we must review the social development which took place after the settlement in the land of Canaan. Briefly stated, it was as follows:

The children of Israel settled in Canaan on the grazing lands which they knew how to use. They were a clan group, the various parts of which were called by their family names. They had no settled abode and were unaccustomed to private property in land. Law and order were dispensed from the tribal courts and authority was held by elective

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chiefs who were the prominent men of the clan. Important matters were settled in the general assembly, in which a large number had a vote. There was much of democracy in their tribal organization.

The change which came after the establishment of the monarchy was somewhat as follows: Instead of the kings being elected by the people, the kings generally assumed that the monarchy had become hereditary. In the place of the tribal courts and elders there was a new set of rulers called "princes" (*I Kings* 4:1-6) who lived in the cities and had a tendency to supplant the old tribal system of justice. The princes were responsible only to the king. In the place of the family group community known by the family name there came the geographical community, and the people were known by geographical names. The Hebrews learned agriculture and acquired private property in land.

With the taking over of the cities under David, political control moved from the rural villages into the cities and was exercised by men responsible to the king. Instead of the freedom of the early herdsmen days there was the manipulation of the nation from the center, the great building projects, conscript labor and heavy taxes. All this fell heaviest on the unorganized and scattered parts of the Hebrew population—the peasants and herdsmen.

If a great rural preacher is a man who preaches to rural folk, then it is not right to call Elijah, Amos, and Micah rural preachers. They were men with rural sympathy who

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preached to city folk. This raises an interesting question: Is a minister to be classified by the content of his message, or by the "content" of his audience? Is a minister pleading the cause of the workingman before an employer's group a "labor" minister, or an "employer's" minister?

### BETTER RURAL LIFE LEGISLATION

Elijah, Amos and Micah were the great prophets who made the welfare of the peasants a matter of conscientious concern to the Hebrew people. They condemned the luxury and ease among the leading classes at the trade centers of Israel. They cried out against land monopoly, against oppression of the poor, against corruption of the judges and law courts. At least two revolutions were promoted by these vigorous exponents of the cause of the oppressed classes. A great deal of positive legislation grew out of this agitation by the prophets.

The book of *Deuteronomy* called for a new definition of national welfare, and its legislation placed strong emphasis upon the common people and their interests. It presents in the twenty-eighth chapter a remarkable statement on national prosperity, which is also an attempt to describe a progressive national order. This definition very distinctly calls for a prosperous and contented rural folk:

Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed shalt thou be in the field. Blessed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy ground, and the fruit of thy cattle, the increase



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of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep. Blessed shall be thy basket and thy store. (28:3-5.)

There is in the sixth chapter a distinct warning against the materialism which prosperous agricultural conditions are likely to bring. When the people come into possession of houses and wells and vineyards and olive trees, they are warned to beware lest they forget Jehovah who brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

There are laws against interest (23:19 and 24:6). No man is allowed to take the fundamental agricultural implements as surety when making a loan.

There are definitions of neighborliness (22:1-4). The meanings of neighborliness given here include such practical rural demonstrations as the returning of the neighbors' livestock.

Kindness to the poor is stressed (15:7-11), and is defined in terms of rural life. The farmers are instructed not to clean the fields and vineyards too closely (24:19-22), but to leave them for the poor and the sojourners. In like manner, kindness to the beasts is recommended (25:4) and just measures (25:13-16). The injunction here against cheating in business is evidently intended for the small farmer who sells his products in the marketplace.

There is to be rest for man and beast:

Keep the Sabbath day to sanctify it, as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee. Six days thou shalt labor, and

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do all thy work: But the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates; that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou. And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm; therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day. (5:12-15.)

It was this kind of history that the Hebrews built into the minds of Hebrew youth, and it is in this kind of material that the democratic faith has roots. To tell these stories to each generation is a contribution of the church to democracy.

### AND THERE WAS ALWAYS THE DECALOGUE!

Early in Hebrew life Moses formulated the basic law for the people. And then centuries after the codes of the Old Testament had been completed, Jesus said that he had not come to destroy the law or the prophets but to fulfill. His teaching of a God of love and the call for loyalty to him included what the law included. The decalogue was looked upon as an itemized bill of particulars as to the meaning of love. Suppose people became conscientious about the great issues of the decalogue, what would it mean?

Let us look at the decalogue, which was one of the conscience platforms used by the prophets and by Jesus in

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forming the minds of the young Hebrews. It is a declaration of principles more than a law code.

### *No Other Gods*

The first plank in this conscience platform declares for the reverent worship of almighty God. The primary importance of this is not hard to see.

When Colonel Goethals was building the Panama Canal, it was reported that he met no new problems in engineering. The real contribution he made was in the realm of industrial management. He built the canal because he first knew how to build the morale of the workers. The secret of his success lay in his willingness to recognize the personality of the men under his control. Every Sunday he kept open court, and anyone who had a grievance or a suggestion for work on the canal could come to him and state his case. No man was considered as a mere cog in a great dirt-digging machine.

I have a friend who is the manager of a large department store. He has made possible frequent meetings for conference at which the men who sell goods over the counter may talk with the manager about the affairs of their common project. Now if a man will dig dirt better on the Panama Canal because he has his "day in court," and if a man will sell more goods over a counter because he has conference with the head of the store, of what immense practical significance is this declaration of our religion that at the center

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of this ongoing universe there is a great Person, and that you and I have our day in court! That we can do so ceases to be an obligation, but a declaration of a great privilege.

There are two secondary implications in this great principle which we are discussing. The first is for the world of labor. No workman wishes to be reduced to the dimensions of a cog in the machinery of an ongoing factory. He is engaged in a fight for personality. He does not like a "no-conference industry." He resents the treatment of labor as a commodity that can be bought and sold in the cheapest market, as men buy cotton and wheat. This man of all others ought to be the last to desert the church, the one institution that, down through history, has been making a fight for personality and the rights of personality as a constituent law of the universe. If this battle is lost for the universe itself, there is little hope that it will be won in the minor engagements of life. On the other hand, if it is won in life's great battle it stands all the more chance of success in those areas of conflict where men are struggling for the rights of personality and the supremacy of men over things.

The second implication is for the world of management. If I cherish my own right to believe that at the center of the universe there is a great Person, and that he has given me my day in court, and that I have the right to talk over with him the problems of this ongoing project, then as I value this right for myself, I am under obligation to extend it to others. I cannot dishonor in others the principle



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I wish to maintain for myself. If I do not wish to be reduced to the level of a cog in the great machine, then I cannot treat other men as I would treat things.

### *Remember the Sabbath Day*

The next interesting item in this conscience code is the declaration for a six-day working week. The seventh day of rest represents standing room in time for the interests that suffer at the hands of the commercial drive that has right of way during the other six days.

The argument for Sunday is the argument for the park at the center of the city's crowded life. We deliberately set limits to the commercial drive and say that inside of certain areas men shall not traffic nor labor. Here we propose to give time for fresh air, rest and recreation.

The argument for the seventh day of rest is just as valid. Here we say to the world of work, with all its mad rush, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther." Here is standing room in time for worship, rest, fellowship, home life and reasoned recreation. Whether or not the church did all that it might have done to bring about an eight-hour working day, the toilers of the world should recognize that it has made the fight for the six-day working week.

On the other hand, the church has the right to be interested in the way this leisure time is used. The ultimate justification for this rest day will be found in its wise use by the people. Sunday is for some people the most immoral day of

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the whole week because they have no idea what to do with it. Leisure time is made sacred by the use to which it is put. Sunday needs to be used and not kept. The man who lives to be sixty years old has eight years of Sundays in his life—enough for a high school and a college education. Surely the church is right in believing that this much leisure time should be devoted not to mere relaxation but to the higher service of God and mankind.

### *Honor Thy Father and Thy Mother*

The third great declaration in this conscience platform declares that parents and parenthood should be honored, and backs up the declaration with the promise that it will be well with the nation that does so, and that it will have long life on the earth. Why the promise?

What real connection is there between reverence for parents and the long life of a nation? Most of us have asked this question as we have recited the fifth commandment. There is a connection. True social laws lie back of this great injunction.

“Honor thy father and thy mother” is the first law of pedagogy. The parents stand as the mediators of the wisdom of the past. The past has more to teach us than we can ever gain through the costly school of experience. The time will never come when we can afford to have an irreverent attitude toward those who are the teachers of the wisdom of the past. Arrogance and conceit are signs of mental degen-

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eracy. That generation of young people is greatly to be pitied which shuts itself off from the inspiration of the lessons the parents have to give.

"Honor thy father and thy mother" is an important law in sociology. Reverence for parenthood places the honors of a nation before its truly great social servants. Parenthood is an important social service. The guaranty of a great posterity is found in a great parenthood. The Hebrew believed in honoring the source of a nation's life. Young people follow the vocations they see honored by those about them. If parents are held in honor by the people of the community, the best young people in the next generation will seek the vocation of parenthood. The nation will thus be reproduced from the best stock. Reproduction from the best stock means the growth of the nation in power. When parenthood is dishonored, the race will be reproduced from the poorest stock. Reproduction from the poorest stock is the formula for bankruptcy in national life. The honoring of parenthood thus guarantees unconsciously the quality of the parents of a race.

## *Reverence for Human Life*

The last five injunctions of this ancient law code could all be summed up under the one general heading of reverence for the life and welfare of your neighbor. They state this reverence in a series of short negative admonitions whose violation would mean the destruction of your neigh-

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bor's life or the violation of conditions conducive to his welfare.

*Thou shalt not kill.* In its original meaning this injunction probably had reference to the destruction of a tribal brother, but its true significance only becomes more apparent as civilization grows more complex. We have a hundred ways of killing men of which our fathers never dreamed. We can poison them by polluting the water system. We can starve them by food adulteration. We can murder them in unregulated street traffic. As we multiply points of contact in a complicated civilization we multiply sources of exasperation. Each age must write its own bill of particulars under the general injunction, "Thou shalt not kill." I would print the words on the license tag of every automobile. I would put it in the charter of every public service corporation. I would gather together the nationalistic slogans of all the nations and I would write over all of them, "In the name of these, thou shalt not kill."

*Thou shalt not commit adultery.* This injunction declares for a reverence and a sense of holiness in dealing with the physical sources of human life. Jesus lifted the whole matter on to a high plane when he said it is impossible to deal with the question of human purity unless we deal with it in the thought stage. Mental debauchery cannot be allowed if we would abolish physical debauchery. The test of much of our life is whether or not it leads people to indulge in a debauchery of the mind. Jesus said that the



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man who indulges in evil mental attitudes is guilty, and from this indictment he would not excuse the woman who by act or dress is partner to this mental state on the part of the man.

*Thou shalt not steal.* This simple statement was once a precept to guard a man's investment in property values, such as an ax, a knife, or the means by which he maintained himself in the hunting stage of society. The underlying principle only becomes more important as property values become more complex. It recognized that the possession of property is to be guarded, because the possession of property and the development of personality are closely associated. If we take seriously this principle, then the distribution of property ought to bear some relationship to the personal development of all the people. We cannot view without concern the heavy concentration of the property of the United States in the hands of a few of the people. There is an imperiling here of the personal development of a large percentage of the people which is serious. Lord Bryce said in 1910 that the time of the struggle between the "haves" and the "have nots" in the United States was not twenty years distant. Does not a regard for the value of property impel us to constructive efforts for its widespread distribution among all the people?

*Thou shalt not bear false witness.* Organized society is built up on the integrity of human speech. The original meaning of this simple injunction was apparent even in

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tribal life. When kingships have given place to democracies, and national policies are determined by public opinion, the injunction is a divine command to be enforced with the flaming sword. As men develop the power of multiplied speech, then the necessity for telling the truth becomes the more insistent. A recent article in a popular magazine asks the question, "Why are American minorities turning to direct action?" The answer given is that they have lost their faith in the effective appeal to the reason of the American people. The popular mind has been poisoned by propaganda. Around every controversial question there goes up a smoke screen of propaganda which makes it impossible for public opinion to register. When popular opinion has been so polluted that it can no longer function, anarchy and chaos in the state then become inevitable.

*Thou shalt not covet.* Another statement of this final injunction would be, "Thou shalt not be jealous of thy neighbor's success." Charles Darwin once made a visit to the Patagonians. Upon his return he reported that this people had no future because when one acquired more than the rest, the others all jumped upon him and took away that which he had acquired. A dead-level existence was in store for such a people. "Thou shalt not be jealous of thy neighbor's success," then, becomes one of the basic laws of society which permits leadership and a larger welfare for all. But if I am under obligation not to be jealous of my neighbor's success, then he is also under

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obligation not to flaunt his success in my face. Either is equally vulgar. Someone has said that there is more luxury now being flaunted on the streets of America than in any other country of the world, and he comments, "We are planting dynamite on the boulevards of America." The injunction to self-restraint in covetousness will be easier to keep when self-restraint in display is more widely observed. There is no way of guaranteeing by law a uniform standard of national comfort. If we are to be a peaceful people we must all of us learn to observe on our own responsibility this final commandment: "Thou shalt not covet."

## CHAPTER III

### *The Rootage of Democracy in the Early Christian Community*

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AT the beginning of the World War in 1914, I asked a German doctor what he thought was the chief difference between our culture and that of Germany. He replied that the thing which impressed him most about America was that all over this country people were meeting in little voluntary groups and telling Bible stories to their children.

#### THE EMERGENCE OF THE MAN FARTHEST DOWN

If I were ever asked to prepare a scenario which would tell the story of democracy in the New Testament, I would use the story of Saint Paul and the shipwreck in the Mediterranean. The prisoner, Paul, a despised and unimportant person, starts out on this voyage as the man farthest down. He is surrounded by centurions who represent the Roman military power, by sailors who are skilled navigators. The ship itself is in the respectable business of carrying wheat



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to Rome. But under the strain of the tempest all these old securities prove inadequate. One by one the sailors, the soldiers and the ship fail as a source of security. Out of it all emerges the man who takes command because he has a faith in resources more reliable than those offered by these physical evidences of Roman authority.

There is something symbolic in this story. The Christian community, made up of lowly people, rises to the top in the Roman Empire, which gradually disintegrates because of its own self-generated weakness. It is not just a story of the emergence of the common man, but it is the story of the emergence of the common man inspired by religion. In the New Testament community we detect a new power and a new objective. There is a subordination of such values as race, property and class to the great goal of the kingdom of God.

### THE COMMUNITY OF THE SPIRIT

In a remarkable book entitled *The Spirit*,<sup>1</sup> a group of English writers have asked and answered the question, "What happened at Pentecost?" In brief, their answer is that at Pentecost there came into existence the fourth great community which crowned the contribution of the Hebrew people to the world, "the community of spirit." After the communities of race, geography and culture had made their contributions, there was born a community which rose

<sup>1</sup> *The Spirit*, edited by Burnett H. Streeter. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1935.

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above the limitations of race, class, geography and national custom and qualified as a universal community.

There was never any question about the fact that this community had its origin in the life, death and resurrection of one Jesus of Nazareth, who was born a Jew of the seed of David but through obedience to the will of God became the founder of the "new Israel" of the spirit, even as Abraham, Jacob and Moses had been the founding fathers of the Israel which fulfilled its mission by preparing the way for the new. Jesus was of humble origin. The stories of his birth make perfectly clear that the first Christmas was a time when God, through some very poor people, gave a gift of infinite worth to all the world, not excluding kings, princes and wise men.

Throughout his days Jesus associated with common people, and certain men of simple tastes who associated with him now belong to the ages. He taught by incident, deed and in simple symbols. Though he sought peace his life was full of controversy. The issues which whirled about him concerned the finality of the old absolutes of race, class and sacred institutions. He shocked his intimate friends because he mingled with people of questionable social standing; the temple officials were scandalized at the casual way he treated the temple and their sacred day, the Sabbath. The politicians feared him because the common people gave him their loyalty; his intimate friends were in terror because death seemed to worry him so little.

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More than any other teacher, Jesus threw men back on the use of their imagination as the necessary implement of goodness. If one asked how to treat his neighbor, the answer was, "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them." This called for the imagination to put oneself in another's place. Sin was to be grappled with in the mind. The sensuous imagination was the essence of lust, even as hating was the father of murder. Jesus and his friends were surrounded by a society whose reliance was on the cohesion accomplished by military force. He was attacked by those who thought they were triumphant when they had destroyed the body. Jesus refused to be standardized by his enemies, which is a triumph seldom achieved by those of us who resort to war. Surrounded by friends and enemies, by politicians and priests, by rich and poor, by saints and sinners, he demonstrated unfailingly under every circumstance the unbroken will to love. At his death the conviction of his abiding presence and living power was only deepened and extended.

Now the New Testament never leaves any doubt that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself. The God who had revealed his presence and power on numerous and diverse occasions in Hebrew history had once more made himself known. He had entered human life through the agency of poor and simple folk but with such power as to put down the mighty from their seats and to exalt them of low degree.

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### THE DOCTRINE OF CONSENT

There is remoteness and intimacy in the thought of a community which has in it the purpose of the ages and yet is as fresh and spontaneous as the last custom-breaking adventure in the name of the spirit. This community had a cosmic destiny more profound in its origins than any political or legal fiat which was out beyond the borders of mere human planning. Yet it could not come to pass without human cooperation. There is never any doubt from the records that this God of the Hebrews is a covenant-making, covenant-keeping God who insists on keeping alive the doctrine of consent in man. God seeks spiritual maturity on the part of men, sons not slaves, as Paul states it. The important contribution of the Christian community is in the realm of status, not in the realm of a variety of deeds to be done. Out of the new community comes a new vocation, not a new code or commandment. Although the New Testament is prolific in itemized "bills of particular" for conduct, the Christian is a member of a community which emphasizes a change of status before God and man rather than content of conduct. Man's sense of dignity is written in a profound doctrine of cosmic destiny.

This rugged Christian fellowship inside the Roman Empire held firmly to certain great truths about the cosmic purposes of the universe which were expressed in the life and death of Jesus, and the importance of the new body



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of men which had come into being and were carrying on the ministry of Christ. It recognized the vast distinction between this type of life and the life in the "world"; it held to the ultimate victory of a new order which would be guided by the ethic of love, and to a doctrine of personal immortality which transcended the eventualities of social striving.

Let me come to the definition of Christians. There are a good many definitions and perhaps this one will have no friends except the present proposer:

Christians are those people who accept the Christian solution for the fact that man has a sense of being lost. A man is lost when he cannot define his present nor plan his future. At this point man cannot save himself. The Christian is the person who accepts the help offered in the Hebrew Christian revelation of God.

Now I am well aware of some very great limitations in the following illustration of what I mean by being lost, but perhaps it will emphasize a point.

In his book *Alone*, Admiral Richard E. Byrd describes the experience of being lost and the process by which he escaped from that experience. He had, as you remember, taken up his residence in a blockhouse on an ice floe at the South Pole in the blackness of an Antarctic winter. In order that he might have exercise he set up a line of bamboo sticks by which he guided himself in little excursions from his hut. One night, in a moment of absent-mindedness, he ad-

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vanced beyond the limits of his bamboo sticks and found himself in intense darkness with all sense of direction obliterated. He thus describes his feelings:

I was lost and I was sick inside. In order to stop from wandering still further from the shack I made a reference point. I broke off pieces of sastrugi with my heel and heaped them into a little beacon about eighteen inches high at the butt of the arrow. This took quite a little while. Straightening up and consulting the sky, I discovered two stars which were in line with the direction in which I had been walking when I stopped. This was a lucky break, as the sky had been overcast until now and had only cleared in a couple of places. In the navigator's phrase the stars gave me a range and the beacon a departure. So taking careful steps and with my eyes on the stars, I started forward. After a hundred paces, I stopped. I flung the flashlight all around and could see nothing but blank barrier.

Not daring to go farther for fear of losing the snow beacon, I started back, glancing over my shoulder at the two stars to hold my line. At the end of a hundred steps I failed to fetch the beacon. For an instant I was on the edge of panic. Then the flashlight picked it up about twenty feet or so on my left hand. That miserable pile of snow was nothing to rejoice over, but at least it kept me from feeling that I was stabbing blindfolded. On the next sortie, I swung the course thirty degrees to the left. As before, after a hundred steps, I saw nothing. "You're lost now," I told myself.

I was appalled. I realized that I would have to lengthen my radius from the beacon and in lengthening I might never be able to find my way back to the *one certainty*. However, there was no alternative unless I was prepared to freeze to

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death and I could do that just as thoroughly a thousand yards from the hut as five hundred. So now I decided to take thirty steps more in the same direction after scraping a little heap of snow together to mark the one-hundred pace point. On the twenty-ninth step, I picked up the first of the bamboo sticks, not more than thirty feet away. No shipwrecked mariner sighting a distant sail could have been more overjoyed.<sup>1</sup>

The focal point in this illustration at the present moment is Byrd's feeling of being lost and the resultant sensation of being "sick inside." Around man's feeling of being lost, the religions with their varying sets of constants focus. This feeling of being lost is accentuated by every threat which comes to man out of an unfriendly world or arises out of himself.

Death comes to a Belgian Congo family. Under the trees they beat the drums and wail because for these primitive people the forest teems with unfriendly forces which threaten them.

At the entrance to almost any village in India, one sees ugly little images, each one symbolizing a major threat to the life of an Indian farmer. One crudely carved stone may represent the god of drought, another the fertility god, the cobra god, or the cholera god; they are eloquent of the fact that the Indian farmer is sick inside.

The more complex civilization becomes the more threats

<sup>1</sup> *Alone*, by Richard E. Byrd, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1938. Used by permission.

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multiply and the more man experiences the feeling of being lost. He may control the snakes and the plagues, the drought and the frosts, he may lose some of his fear of death, but there is the threat of war and the overthrowing of the total order in which he has a stake. Remorse and shame come to the Christian. To his fears there is added a sense of his own unworthiness. The feeling of being lost only accumulates as the necessity of living life on a more exacting level increases.

Now this sense of being lost does not make a man a Christian. It only proves that he is a man.

Christians are those who accept the Hebrew Christian solution for this lostness. The Christian religion comes to a lost man with a set of constants which have for man the equivalent value of those two stars and two piles of snow for Admiral Byrd. By the use of them, he defines his present and plans his future, and that feeling of being "sick inside" is changed to a feeling of faith in which he dares face all the threats. For him all the principalities and powers have lost their terror.

Now let me shift for a moment from the sense of being lost to those constants by which Byrd solved his problem. There was not just one but several. There were two stars and two beacons of snow which Byrd built with his own hands, and the stars were not adequate without his two piles of snow.

The New Testament community did not define itself



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with reference to one constant but with reference to several. Central to this constellation of constants was the God of the prophets and of the covenant. For the new covenant it was that God had defined himself in Jesus Christ. But there were other points of reference. There was the community of the spirit as over against the racial, geographical covenants. There was life by the spirit as over against life by the flesh. There was the ethic of love as over against the old Hebrew's code. There was the kingdom in which the great were those who served as over against the kingdom where men exercised lordship.

There was this concept of the world—the Roman Empire—against which the new community defined itself. It had no formula for the Roman Empire but dynamited it with the doctrine of the second coming of Christ.

Now there are two characteristic facts about this New Testament revelation which brought salvation to the lost in its time. Early Christianity offered to men not one constant but several, all grouped around the central pole star of Israel's God. It was the God who was the Father of Jesus Christ, who had founded the church, who was love, who had established the kingdom. Now this is fairly characteristic of historic Christianity. There have been times in Christianity when the historic Christ has been dim and men have been conscious of the church. There have been times when the part of the church has been very vague and Christians have been conscious of God, Christ and the Bible. And

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there have been times when Christians have walked by a sense of God, Christ and the inner light.

The second point I would emphasize is that it was a part of the behavior of the saved in the early church to judge the world. They did judge the world, the Roman Empire. The consciousness of the world was an element in their loss and it must be a part of their salvation to pass judgment on that which had been involved in their sense of being lost. This, too, Christians have always done. They have not always passed the same judgment. Sometimes, like the early church and the Roman Empire, they have just verbally attacked their world. At other times, as in the church in the Middle Ages, the Christians through an institution have managed the world. Christianity drew a circle around the other functions of society and they operated inside that circle, but always it has been a part of the Christian's salvation to judge the world. The Christian judges the world from the standpoint of the will of God who saved him.

Now I know that man's experience of having lost his God is not an experience which has to do with distance; the Christian experience involves a sense of guilt far deeper, and the center of our spiritual experience is not a planet or a star but the spiritual center of a moral world. Yet the analogy has its value in emphasizing the fact that religions have their value in their answer to man's sense of being lost.

If we grant the inevitability of the Christian judgment of the world and the social orders, what basic standards are

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implicit in the Christian revelation of God which have significance for this judging? I wish to propose several.

We have already noted that God in the Hebrew Christian revelation is the covenant-making, covenant-keeping God who seeks to keep alive in man the principle of consent. The Christian cannot be satisfied with any social order which violates the principle.

God is the God who treats men better than they treat him. He is the redeeming God. The Christian cannot be satisfied with any social order which does not give a chance to the undeveloped and the wayward.

God is the God who seeks spiritual maturity on the part of his children. In the new Israel, men are sons and not slaves to the law. They walk in the spirit and do not fulfill the lusts of the flesh.

God is the God of all men, there are no preferred races or classes. When the revelation of Christ came, the founding of the universal brotherhood began.

God is the God who works for a society held together not by force or fear but by the cohesion based on social faith and trust.

God is the God who, through Jesus Christ, confers on man a vocation, a "calling." A vocation is a rôle which can be accepted only as man uses his imagination in perceiving a new definition of himself and his place in society.

Now I know perfectly well that the first violation of these has been by the church itself.

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There have been great periods when the church has not sought to keep alive the doctrine of consent. There have been times when the Bible has been used as a law book with more legalistic rigidity than under any pre-Christian form of legalism. There have been times when the Bible has been used as a book of magic. Certainly it is not very promising to inquire whether this kind of Christianity has a relationship to democracy.

We come now to the Christian judgment of the social orders. I think we can assume the necessity of this since even Karl Barth says it is necessary.

We should emphasize that the Christian will make his greatest contribution by a judgment which roots in that revelation which has been the source of his salvation.

But here I think it is necessary to introduce a word of warning on a subject that can only be pointed out and not elaborated in this brief space. The Christian should recognize that God has not confined himself to the church in his revelation of himself. He has often used some secular movement to teach the church a long overdue lesson. The church should be a learning church as well as a telling church.

What, then, are the questions which Christianity has the right to ask of any social order? I believe there are at least eight questions which it can ask of these orders, questions which root in what Christians believe on the basis of their belief in God.



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1. How far does a social order recognize the supremacy of God over the conscience of men?

2. To what extent is the church left freedom to discover, define and defend that which is worthy of supreme devotion?

3. Since God is the kind of God who has sought spiritual maturity on the part of his children, ever seeking to keep alive the principle of consent, to what extent does this social order assume and provide for them?

4. Since there are no preferred classes or races in the community of the spirit, to what extent does a social order assume a finality in some of the absolutes of race or class or geography which were discarded in the Hebrew march to spiritual maturity?

5. Since God is a covenant-making, covenant-keeping God, to what extent does the social order call upon the people to form associations based on recognition of common goals and on mutual trust and confidence rather than on a cohesion based on force and fear?

6. Since men hold their property for the glory of God and not for personal glory, to what extent are the gains of a commonwealth shared gains and the rights of property subordinated to what might be called a "use" right?

7. Since men receive from God through Jesus Christ a "calling" and not a command to obey a law, to what extent are they left free to accept a vocation not from the state but from a source superior to the state?

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8. To what extent does a social order make way for perpetual renewal through exposing itself to criticism, allowing minority groups a chance, providing for freedom of worship, press and discussion?

It becomes evident that the Christian must recognize in the glorification of the state and the glorification of race that mark our time, the resurrection of some old absolutes which have been fought in the past.

But I think it is equally certain that a Christian who seeks to keep alive the doctrine of brotherhood cannot be happy over a democracy which acquiesces in as much inequality as does our Western democracy. A Christianity which seeks spiritual maturity on the part of people cannot be happy over all the ways in which Western democracy makes slaves of people.

### THE FAITH FOR A NATION

If we, as American people, tell Bible stories to our children, what will be the effect upon their mental furnishings? They will recognize the supremacy of God over the conscience of men. They will know that this God has sought spiritual maturity on the part of his children, that he is ever seeking to keep alive in them the principle of consent. They will know that there are no preferred classes or races in the community of the spirit. They will demand a social order of which this is also true. They will hold their property for the glory of God and not for personal glory,

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and will demand that the gains of a commonwealth shall be shared gains. They will see that they have received through Jesus Christ a "calling" and not a command to obey a law, and to that extent they will demand that they be left free to accept a vocation, not from the state but from a source superior to the state. They will demand the right to criticize the state and will grow up to understand that freedom of worship and freedom of discussion are necessary thereto.

The significance of widespread Bible teaching among youth is not confined to America. Consider other parts of the world where the Bible has been set free to extend its influence through society.

### BIBLE BELT DEMOCRACY

For reasons about which it is easy to be suspicious, the governing powers of Africa have left education almost entirely to the missions. From the Belgian Congo and Kenya on the north to the Cape of Good Hope on the south, this education has been very largely carried on through Protestant mission schools. Now these missions are giving an education which lays great emphasis on the Bible. In fact, natives in many cases are taught to read in order that they may read the Bible.

The result of all this, as Julian Huxley complains, is that the native education has a Hebrew base and is permeated with biblical lore. In other words, the black man's mind is

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filled with stories about Moses and his brickyard revolt in Egypt, about Solomon who became interested in African gold mines and introduced heavy taxes and conscript labor among the peasantry and ended up with a diminishing reputation for wisdom. There are stories of the prophet-led peasant revolts in Palestine and God's protection of the down-trodden and the call to freedom under the oppression of the Roman Empire. The native converts become thoroughly familiar with the battle symbolism of the book of *Revelation*.

Because the governments have left education to the missionaries, Africa is one of the world's greatest Bible Belts. It is impossible to foretell how the Bible Belt will behave. Harry Thuku led the native uprising in Kenya at a time when economic depression and currency revision brought hardship to the natives. The proclamation issued urged the Africans to pray for Harry Thuku and his elders who "have been set aside by our God to be our guides in our present condition of slavery which we knew not before the Europeans came into the country of East Africa." The prayer continued: "Also remember how that our God brought the children of Israel out of the house of bondage of King Pharaoh and to him let us pray again for he is our God. Also let us have faith since in the eye of our God there is no distinction between white or black. All are sons of Adam and alike before him, our living God. Also remember how that Goliath was unable to hurt David when David was a



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child, not yet full grown, nor Saul hurt David when David was chosen by Jehovah, our God."

A Belgian official whom I met said that the placing of the Bible in the hands of the native is dangerous foolishness for the native who believes the Bible is likely to get all sorts of "queer ideas."

## CHAPTER IV

### *The Religious Element in the Folklore of American Democracy*

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FOLKLORE is history told by common people in their search for the heroic. It is a reaching after perfection that is very close to the elements of religion.

The second chapter of Jane Addams' *Twenty Years at Hull-House* contains these paragraphs:

My childish admiration for Lincoln is closely associated with a visit to the war eagle, Old Abe, who, as we children well knew, lived in the state capitol in Wisconsin, only sixty-five miles north of our house, really not farther than an eagle could easily fly! He had been carried by the Eighth Wisconsin Regiment through the entire war, and now dwelt an honored pensioner in the state building itself. . . .

The entire journey to the veteran war eagle had itself symbolized that search for the heroic and perfect which so persistently haunts the young; and as I stood under the great white dome of Old Abe's stately home, for one brief moment the search was rewarded. I dimly caught a hint of what men have tried to say in their world-old effort to imprison a space in so divine a line, that it shall hold only

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yearning devotion and high-hearted hopes. Certainly the utmost rim of my first dome was filled with the tumultuous impression of soldiers marching to death for freedom's sake, of pioneers streaming westward to establish self-government in yet another sovereign state. Only the great dome of St. Peter's itself has ever clutched my heart as did that modest curve which had sequestered from infinitude in a place small enough for my child's mind, the courage and endurance which I could not comprehend so long as it was lost in "the void of unresponsive space" under the vaulting sky itself.<sup>1</sup>

Just as the child caught a vision of courage and fortitude from the great white dome, so the people in their folklore attempt to imprison out of their history that part which encourages their "yearning devotion and high-hearted hopes."

It is the thesis of this chapter that although you cannot equate Christianity and democracy, in the folklore of American democracy the two have never been entirely separated. I have chosen for my observations the periods of the Founding Fathers, the Revolution, the great religious awakening, the Roaring Forties and the Gay Nineties, because by common consent they were times of social excitement for democracy.

The characters, the ideas, the events of these periods are important to democratic people looking back on their past for that by which they can define their present and plan

<sup>1</sup> *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, by Jane Addams, pp. 27-29. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1923. Used by permission.

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their future. If the communists or fascists ever rewrite our history as the communists have rewritten the history of Russia, these ages in our national development will cease to be important. But now they are. My thesis is that in all these historic epochs religious people and religious ideas have been significant in maintaining democracy. When you break these periods open, you find democratic men struggling over the stuff of which religion is made.

### THE DEMOCRATIC HALL OF FAME

I have chosen to deal with these characters as religious portraits which rightly belong in our democratic hall of fame, and I believe a hall of fame affords a convenient way of interpreting these periods in American history. It should be divided into portrait galleries, representing those of like mind and of a contemporary age who made a peculiar contribution to the democratic purpose of the nation. The portraits in our democratic hall of fame can be assembled in six rooms.

In the first room I would include the Founding Fathers, the makers of the national covenant; in the second the men of the Revolution; in the third the great Revivalists and the missionaries who built the church on all the frontiers; for the Quakers I would set aside a room of their own; in the fifth I would put the great Transcendentalists of the Roaring Forties and call them the "keepers of the vineyard"; in the sixth I would place the seekers of the



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Holy City. All these men in their own time were well-springs of responsible living in a dry and thirsty land.

### THE FOUNDING FATHERS

Let us return then to the Founding Fathers, the makers of the covenant.

"We the people of New England," wrote Peter Bulkley, "are as a City set upon an hill, in the open view of all the earth, the eyes of the world are upon us, because we profess ourselves to be a people in Covenant with God."

. . . John Cotton called Davenport to New England because here "the order of the Churches and of the Commonwealth was so settled, by common Consent, that it brought to his mind the New Heaven and the New Earth wherein dwelleth righteousness."<sup>1</sup>

It cannot too often be reiterated that the leading spirits who determined the purposes of early America thought of it as divine adventure in a new type of commonwealth. They could have honestly adopted as their own the phraseology of the book of *Hebrews*:

And truly, if they had been mindful of that country from whence they came out, they might have had opportunity to have returned. But now they desire a better country, that is, an heavenly: wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God: for he hath prepared for them a city.  
(11: 15-16.)

<sup>1</sup> *The New England Mind*, by Perry Miller, p. 470. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1939. Used by permission.

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These were the Founding Fathers of the new commonwealth. Here ought to be placed John Cotton, John Davenport, Cotton Mather and Roger Williams. For the Quakers must be included William Penn and for the Presbyterians Francis Makemie. These were the men who sought in this new commonwealth the last act in a divine drama of redemption. All that John Calvin and Martin Luther had failed to accomplish on the continent of Europe, and all the unfulfilled hopes of the Puritans in England and Holland, they expected to realize here. Grant that they set up a theocracy. It was a theocracy designed to glorify God and to serve men. Cotton Mather, in his notable address, "The History of Boston Related and Improved," declared that God was the redeemer of persons and of peoples. By peoples he meant those corporate communities—the towns of Massachusetts and Connecticut which were "to demonstrate to England and Europe what yet remained to be achieved, and their appointed task was as clear to the eye of reason, studying the pages of history, as to the eye of faith perusing the pages of *Revelation*."<sup>1</sup>

The Founding Fathers sought to organize the new commonwealth in accordance with the principles of freedom and after the pattern of the Hebrew commonwealth. In time of trouble they searched their conscience, using the decalogue as a basis for self-examination. In 1679 they is-

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 470.

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sued a public document which was proclaimed by the governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and read in all the churches. It might be called an early social creed of the churches. The document was an answer to the question, "What are the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New England?"

The reasons enumerated were:

1. Visible decay of Godliness among many professors in the churches.

2. Pride doth abound among them. (*a*) Refusal to be subjected to order according to divine appointment; (*b*) Contention; (*c*) Pride of apparel.

3. Church fellowship is neglected and prostituted by such people as Quakers and Ana-Baptists.

4. There is the profanation of the word of God. (*a*) Cursing and swearing; (*b*) Irreverence in church worship, men give way to sloth and sleepiness.

5. There is much Sabbath breaking. (*a*) By unnecessary work and traveling; (*b*) By unseemly and fruitless conversation.<sup>1</sup>

This list of sins, which is obviously the reverse side of a group of recognized duties, comes largely under what was known as prescribed spiritual means which, if observed, laid the foundation for blessing by God with spiritual gifts.

Then comes another list of evils which may be summed up as follows:

<sup>1</sup> See *Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History*, by Peter G. Mode. Menasha, Wisconsin, The George Banta Publishing Company, 1921.

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### *Neglect of Primary Group Relationships*

There are families that do not pray to God.

Religious homes are poorly ordered.

Children and servants are not all kept in due subjection.

### *Unneighborly Relationships*

Sinful hearts and hatred.

Uncharitable and unrighteous censures.

Backbitings and bearing tales.

Lawsuits, brother going to law with brother.

### *Bad Habits in Social Intercourse*

The heathenish and idolatrous practice of the drinking of healths.

Drinking too frequent.

Too much drinking at taverns.

### *Flagrant Disregard of the Seventh Commandment*

Laying bare of necks, naked necks and arms and mixed dancing.

Too much promise-breaking among men.

### *Sins of the Public Order*

There is an inordinate affection for the world, insatiable desire after land. We solemnly bear witness against sin of selling plantations without any ministry, which is to prefer the world before the gospel.

Some traders sell goods for excessive rates. Some day laborers and mechanics are unreasonable in their demands. Some are too irresponsible as to public concerns. There is too little public spirit as to public affairs.

At the end of this chapter we place a recent social statement of the churches with which it might be interesting to compare the one of 1679.

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### THE CLERGY AND THE REVOLUTION

The second room I would devote to the clergy and the Revolution. If I have given considerable space to this group, it is because it merits our attention, and also because it gives a final answer to those present-day critics who think that only recently American ministers have developed a social message. The story of the men whose pictures belong on the walls of this gallery is told in *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution*, by Alice M. Baldwin, assistant professor of history at Duke University. In this group I would place the names of Charles Chauncy, Samuel Cooper and Jonathan Mayhew, ministers of New England who led most of the other clergymen in undergirding the American Revolution with good, philosophical thinking about law and state. From other colonies would be John Witherspoon of New Jersey and Isaac Backus of Massachusetts. In their hands I would place the Bible and the works of John Locke, who taught that a law was good when it was for the safety of the people. In their Thursday lectureships they expounded the philosophy of a state and of a law which had authority only because it worked for the safety and security of the people. Some of these men were more radical than others.

But [to quote Miss Baldwin] whether stereotyped or original, conservative or radical, for a hundred years before the Revolution and year by year throughout the long con-



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flict, these sermons dealt with matters of government. They were heard by large audiences of clergy and laymen; they had the prestige of well-known names and of the colonial assembly attached to them; they were sent to friends in other colonies and in England and were distributed regularly to the country towns where they became, as Winsor styles them, "textbooks of politics." Thus they passed from hand to hand and from colony to colony. Their theories and even their phrases reached the ears of townsmen and countrymen. Possibly men may often have been unheeding because of the constant repetition, but that very repetition through so many years must have driven the ideas and phrases home until they became part of the warp and woof of New England thought.<sup>1</sup>

When the war was on, these clergymen gave a good conscience to the fighting force. Many of them joined as chaplains, and the morale of the new commonwealth rested back on their interpretation. These clergymen were ably seconded by what went on in the ordinary town meeting.

Near the mouth of the Kennebec River in Maine is a cottage where I go when it is vacation time. Close by lives a town clerk. One summer I discovered that she had in her possession the minutes of the town meeting, running back to 1736.

The town is Georgetown, named after King George, and the first settlement antedates that of the Pilgrim Fathers by thirteen years. Rumor has it that fishermen along the Ken-

<sup>1</sup> *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution*, by Alice M. Baldwin. Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1928. Used by permission.

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nebec helped feed the Pilgrim settlers when their pious adventure at Plymouth Rock was in peril of failure from starvation.

Georgetown was a stretch of territory fourteen miles on each side of the river and thirty miles up and down its length. A New England town included both rural areas and the trade center. Although Bertram Fowler has recently described a part of Georgetown as a "ghost town," it once was full of interest and stirring events for its people.

From these town records, going back over two hundred years, I could reconstruct the behavior of a New England village during Revolutionary days. Many happenings were recorded. There was a voting of funds for the minister of the town. For years he seemed to be the most important citizen and certainly received the highest income of any paid official. Gradually he shared that honor with the schoolmaster. The townspeople voted in new families who wished to make their homes here, providing they evidenced ability not to become public charges. There was a provision for the preservation of the wild animals which they looked upon as a part of their supply of food. One man was annually elected "Keeper of the *Dear*." These early settlers were not very particular about their spelling.

Georgetown was at that time a part of Massachusetts. On May 25, 1778, the new constitution proposed for the commonwealth came up to Georgetown for ratification. In the town meeting they solemnly discussed its provisions

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and as solemnly rejected five of them. The reasons given were, in their words:

Fifth: A man being born in Africa, India or ancient America, or even being much sunburned, could not vote for representatives.

Sixth: Inhabitants will not be equally represented.

Ninth: The small districts will have next to no voice in the choice of senators, and the multiplicity of town meetings will be attended with great and needless trouble to the scattered inhabitants.

Nineteenth: Civil and field officers are not nominated by the corporation which they are to serve.

Thirty-fourth: A foundation is layed for persecution and the right of conscience destroyed.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the early inhabitants of this town invested will power, purpose and intelligence through the town meeting in that larger structure of the state and federal government which was then in process of formation. The meetings were held in humble places. During the period 1814 to 1817, they seem to have oscillated between William Mars' barn and the Baptist meetinghouse. The record gives us a picture of the "male inhabitants" over twenty-one years old who had incomes of ten dollars per year or a freehold estate of \$300, gathered in William Mars' barn and voting after stormy discussion that "Mr. Mars have the privilege of selling Rum in preference of anybody else on Meeting Days of Town Business holden at his home or barn."

<sup>1</sup> *History of Bath*, by Edward Clarence Plummer, p. 125. Bath, Maine, The Times Company, 1936. Used by permission.

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In between the mangers of the barn they voted: "The overseers of the poor use their discretion respecting furnishing the poor of this Town with some sort of Labour or business according to their occupations and which shall be most advantageous to themselves and their town."

There in William Mars' barn they debated the conservation of the fish with the "mill owners and proprietors of lumber" who operated mills farther up the river.

In 1816 these barn-meeting democrats "beg leave in their corporate capacity to represent that the time has now arrived, when the District of Maine ought to assume the legislation of its own affairs, when the citizens of this district ought to exercise their rights secured to them by the Constitution of the United States and be erected into an independent state."

They debated the "embargo" petition presented by some of the inland towns. These grass-root democrats of an early day declared that the national policies in the restriction of commerce did not reflect "a settled hostility in the National Government against commerce" but "these difficulties and embarrassments have arisen in consequence of a settled hostility determinative in the two great belligerent nations of Europe, particularly Great Britain, so as entirely to destroy our commerce." While recognizing the inconvenience of a restricted commerce, this meeting in William Mars' barn warns those in the inland towns who are trying to build up factionalism in the following words:



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Your memorialists beg leave further to state to the Honorable Legislator that although we cannot by any means assent to the premises our hearts and souls are nevertheless alive to the interests of the people of the Commonwealth and to the government thereof, as well as to the people and government of the whole nation and that when we have reason to believe that the constitutional rights of the former are violated or infringed, we shall as determinedly contend for them as we now do for the right of the union: for the opinions of the majority, constitutionally expressed, must and will prevail. When we examine the rich legacy left us by the father of his Country which we make one of our text books and wherein we are so solemnly cautioned against local divisions and animosities, when we discover so many indirect attempts tending to dissolve the Union, we cannot but consider it infinitely greater cause for alarm than all our contention with foreign powers. We all profess to be the disciples of Washington. Were this the case in fact, we should do the works of Washington, and knowing and practising the truth would make us free indeed.

In addition to these matters of national import, the town meeting carried the customary mine-run line of duties. At the next meeting, which was held in "Gilbert Heal's barn," they cast their votes for governor, senators, surveyors of highways and lumber, protectors of the "herring fishery," decided how much they would raise for highways, schools and the support of the gospel, and voted not to build a town meetinghouse.

In 1835 Alexis de Tocqueville wrote an interesting book



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on American democracy. He enumerated the reasons why he thought this democracy was a success. All of them went back to a certain type of person and his social opportunity. He described the American pioneer as someone different from the European peasant. The American pioneer, according to de Tocqueville, was a man who had temporarily taken up his residence in the wilderness but had a mind made keen by the wisdom of centuries. He was equipped with a Bible, an ax and a newspaper. He was acquainted with the past, curious about the future, and always ready to argue about the present. This pioneer, said de Tocqueville, found opportunities for satisfaction of his desires in a number of simple institutions. He was a member of a very influential church which kept faith alive in his heart and effectively governed the customs and morals of the community. He had a family life to which he retreated and found comfort and happiness. There was a democratic ownership of land due to the working of a democratic principle of property inheritance. And then there was

. . . the township which serves as a centre for the desire of public esteem, the want of exciting interests, and the taste for authority and popularity, in the midst of the ordinary relations of life; and the passions which commonly embroil society change their character when they find a vent so near the domestic hearth and the family circle.

The native of New England is attached to his township because it is independent and free: his cooperation in its affairs ensures his attachment to its interest; the well-being

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it affords him secures his affection; and its welfare is the aim of his ambition and of his future exertions: he takes a part in every occurrence in the place; he practises the art of government in the small sphere within his reach; he accustoms himself to those forms which can alone ensure the steady progress of liberty; he imbibes their spirit; he acquires a taste for order, comprehends the union or the balance of powers, and collects clear, practical notions on the nature of his duties and the extent of his rights.<sup>1</sup>

Stated in simpler words, if you had been in New England one hundred and fifty years ago you would probably have been a resident of a typical American community, which would have been a town. These people mingled together in the common activities of the week and worshipped together at the central church on Sunday morning. There would have been some characteristics of this community which would not have appealed to you as a layman. The clergy had a great deal of power—more than they knew how to use. When Benedict Arnold sailed up the Kennebec on his way to Quebec, he anchored off the shore of Georgetown and the Reverend Mr. Emerson made an official call and prayed for one hour and a half.

In the church there was a special gallery set aside for the "Africans." Prestige in the community was reflected in the sale of the church pews. There were special privileges and vested rights shown in the allotment of these pews.

<sup>1</sup> *Democracy in America*, by Alexis de Tocqueville, p. 66. New York, The Colonial Press, 1899.

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When Ezra Stiles paid his debts, freed his slaves and became president of Yale University, he left what was known as a three-deck church in the town of Portsmouth. In the top gallery were the slaves, in the second, the indentured white folk and the people who hadn't the privilege of citizenship, and on the main floor, the citizens and church members of piety and probity. In all the town records there is a notable recurrence of the same names on the important committees. Out of one hundred and fifty voters a rather small group carried the responsibility. But despite such departures from the democratic order, these towns laid hold of the hearts of the people. They increasingly called for a maximum of self-investment. In the town meetings you were expected to take a part.

The labor was of the type which called out qualities of personal interest. The master cordwainers, as they were then termed, cobbled shoes together as neighbors, and they cobbled shoes for men they expected to see on the road the next day, so they had excellent reasons for good work. Despite their faults the clergy convinced the people that this New England social adventure was an important act in the great drama of divine redemption.

These communities not only called for a maximum of investment from those who were citizens, but they rewarded those who so invested themselves. These communities knew their people. They knew the lazy ones and the industrious ones, the imperious ones and the capable ones

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and those who were distinguished for piety and probity. Men who had lived worthily spent the evening of life among friends who honored them for what they had done.

Of such stuff the early American democracy was made. It was a cooperative adventure of the people for the people and by the people in the name of God. Those who have served our democracy have worked for the extension of these principles to changing times and places.

### FRONTIER REVIVALISTS AND MISSIONARIES

In the third room of my gallery, I would place the great Revivalists and home missionaries of the frontier, from Jonathan Edwards to Sheldon Jackson. All of them operated at "the edge of cultivation," and all of them made an absolutely important contribution to the new church which, following out the impulses given by Roger Williams, could no longer depend upon the state for its support. Without the Revivalist movement, an independent church which could stand upon its own feet and look the state in the face would never have succeeded. Jonathan Edwards, with his doctrine of sovereignty and disinterested benevolence, lifted the church above the limitations of social environment and gave the soul a sense of its significance before God.

At the entrance of this room I would place Edwards, Gilbert Tennent, John Wesley, George Whitefield and Charles G. Finney. I would have Whitefield speaking in



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the fields to crowds too big for any of the churches or halls. I would have him standing on the steps of Independence Hall in Philadelphia, preaching to a vast crowd while Benjamin Franklin measured the distance which Whitefield's voice could carry. Later Franklin recorded the conclusion that it really was possible for Greek generals to harangue whole armies—a feat which up to this time he had doubted. I would show Charles G. Finney preaching to the new peoples who were assembling in New York and beyond the Alleghenies, and starting the impulses which later led to the freedom of the slaves.<sup>1</sup> These preachers and circuit riders, whom William E. Dodd says did more to organize the populations of the Middle West than all the educators and politicians and statesmen combined, were instrumental in the shaping of the American mind.

In the same room just beyond these I would place such missionaries as Peter Cartwright, who introduced Methodism and decent living to the frontier, and John Mason Peck, another great missionary pioneer, who was responsible for keeping Illinois a free state. Here belong Jason Lee and Marcus Whitman, who went as missionaries to the Indians and helped establish the institutions of ordered, democratic government in the great Northwest. I would include Starr King, whose eloquence prevented California

<sup>1</sup> See *The Antislavery Impulse*, by Gilbert H. Barnes. New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1934.

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from leaving the Union, and who merited a civic monument in San Francisco; I would add Sheldon Jackson, who organized 6 synods, 31 presbyteries and 886 churches with 77,105 communicants, and who played an important part in the settlement of the West and of Alaska.

### THE GREAT QUAKERS

In the fourth room I would hang the portraits of the great Quakers who built their contribution into American democracy. On the one wall, occupying the central space, I would place the pictures of John Woolman, whose heart was filled with such a concern for the oppressed people of the new commonwealth that he could only find happiness when his heart poured out an effective love for their relief. I would have him going into the South and identifying himself with the slaves; traveling to the West and seeking out the Indians, influencing William Lloyd Garrison to devote his life to the cause of abolition; and in the last dramatic act, taking a journey to England in which he refused to have a comfortable cabin but lived with the sailors in the most uncomfortable parts of the ship. Twenty years after he lived, and forty years before the nation as a whole, the Quakers of the United States had voluntarily ceased to own slaves. On other walls of this room, I would hang the pictures of Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia and Lucretia Mott, who fought for the freedom of the slave and the rights of women.

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The Quakers, from John Woolman down to Rufus Jones of our own day, have formed an effective fellowship that has illustrated and expounded a true philosophy of American democracy.

### THE MEN OF THE ROARING FORTIES

In the fifth room I would place the men of the Roaring Forties, including the Transcendentalist group beginning with William Channing and carrying on to the time of Henry Ward Beecher, who expounded all the causes which came bubbling to the surface in the period prior to the Civil War. This period Professor John R. Commons calls the second great period of social excitement in the United States.

Foremost of all I would put Channing, the New England Puritan who went down to live for a short time in Virginia and had his mind made flexible and humane by the doctrines of Jeffersonian democracy. Here I would place Horace Bushnell, America's first great religious sociologist, who recaptured for America the doctrine of the community which had been forgotten by Jonathan Edwards and Charles G. Finney. Bushnell ought to be rescued from the inadequate interpretation of the religious educators; neither have the systematic theologians done him justice. I would have him standing delivering the Centenary Address of Litchfield County, with retrospective sympathy telling the story of the age of homespun and looking for-

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ward with equal sympathy to the days of railroads and factories.

Here I would place Dorothea Dix, who, from the home of Dr. Channing, made her survey of the insane asylums of the United States and Europe and wrote a book which was epoch-making in its reforms dealing with the insane. Here I would include Theodore Parker, lecturer, preacher, crusader, the moral genius of his age, who was so intelligent that Harvard College thought it would be a reflection on the institution if he did not have a Harvard degree and insisted on giving him one even though he had not conformed to the preliminary requirements.

On other walls I would place Samuel Gridley Howe, who trained Laura Bridgman and made the blind to see. Here belong the great social reformers who organized the Brookfield Farm, the Phalanxes at Ripon, Wisconsin, and in general tried to do for the world of property what the early philosophers and preachers had tried to do for the law and the state. Social work in the United States has its rootage in the Roaring Forties and it is a religious rootage. On another wall I would place William Lloyd Garrison, Julia Ward Howe, and the Beechers, who kept the freedom fires burning until the slave was no longer a chattel. The most dynamic men of the Roaring Forties drew their strength from deep religious sources and are rightly included among the religious portraits in our democratic hall of fame.



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### THE GAY NINETIES

From the Civil War we jump to the Gay Nineties. These days were not gay for labor nor for the farmer. They are called the Gay Nineties because a few people were making vast sums of wealth and spending them lavishly in cities while, at the same time, there was misery among the masses of the people, both in city slums and on the great prairies.

On the walls of this gallery I would place those who had sympathy for the farmer and for labor in the factory. From the great prairies I would bring a Congregational minister, a South Dakotan by the name of Kyle who resigned his pulpit and became the United States Senator advocating the causes of the Populist Party. I would go down into Texas and lay hold of some of the Disciples ministers. A student of this era has said that the Populist Party in Texas was made up of "one-gallus-farmers and Campbellite preachers." If you don't know what a "one-gallus-farmer" is, I will say that a "two-gallus-farmer" is the preferred type. They ultimately helped write a long list of new planks in our democratic platform. One cannot fail to be impressed with the religious quality which prevails in all the granger pronouncements of this period.

Going into the cities I would get men like Robert Wood, who, with the backing of William J. Tucker of Andover Seminary, established the South End House in Boston. I

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would get Graham Taylor, who, from the Chicago Theological Seminary, founded Chicago Commons in Chicago. I think I could symbolize the social excitement of the Nineties in a series of panels of which Graham Taylor's picture would be the center. Shortly before his death he was voted the First Citizen of Chicago. In the first panel he would take up the theme of theocracy, that here on these shores a commonwealth had been founded to be governed by the direction of God. In the second panel, I would have something which symbolizes the multitudes of the city, those multitudes whom Graham Taylor loved in the river wards of Chicago—the Irish, the Swedes, the Italians and the Poles. In the third panel I would put a meeting at Orchestra Hall when Taylor and William T. Stead are speaking on the subject, "If Christ Came to Chicago." On the stage would be businessmen and labor leaders, preachers and saloon keepers, theological professors, gamblers and matrons of distinguished families and madames of the houses of ill fame, judges of the court and men whom the judges had convicted in the Haymarket Riots and whom Governor Altgeld had recently pardoned. William Jewett Tucker said that the freeing of the slaves was the last great act of the Puritan conscience, but Horace Bushnell's daughter gave part of his library to Graham Taylor on the ground that he, more than anyone she knew, carried forward the succession. And I am inclined to believe that Graham Taylor's editorials for thirty-three years in the *Chicago Daily*

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*News* in search of a better city are in line with Cotton Mather's *History of Boston Related and Improved*.

These were the days when the churches built the great institutions and organizations with which they fought the isolation and anonymity of the city and the great scourges of intemperance and prostitution. They were the days of the Anti-Saloon League, the Christian Associations, the social settlements, and the great growth of the colleges. For these institutions the clergy pleaded and raised funds. Most of the good social thinking of the period had a religious rootage. With this gallery I close the American hall of fame.

### THE GALLERY OF THE PRESENT

However, there is a gallery which is not yet finished. The portraits to be hung upon its walls are those of living men and women who are making a decent fight for a new international order and a new socialization of the resources of the country. They, too, are working for the underdog, for the slum dwellers and for the sharecroppers. The gallery will have to be left open for future generations to choose the portraits for its walls. But I would guess that among these would be Walter Rauschenbusch, W. S. Rainsford, Harry F. Ward, Norman Thomas, the editors of *The Christian Century*, and an increasing number who have tried to do in this generation with the concept of law and property what the eighteenth century did for government and

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law. As a result of their labor we have the "Social Ideals of the Churches,"<sup>1</sup> a social pronouncement of the Protestant churches of this country:

The churches should stand for:

1. Practical application of the Christian principle of social well-being to the acquisition and use of wealth; subordination of speculation and the profit motive to the creative and cooperative spirit.

2. Social planning and control in the credit and monetary systems and the economic processes for the common good.

3. The right of all to the opportunity for self-maintenance; a wider and fairer distribution of wealth; a living wage, as a minimum, and above this a just share for the worker in the product of industry and agriculture.

4. Safeguarding of all workers, urban and rural, against harmful conditions of labor and occupational injury and disease.

5. Social insurance against sickness, accident, want in old age, and unemployment.

6. Reduction of hours of labor as the general productivity of industry increases; release from employment at least one day in seven, with a shorter working week in prospect.

7. Such special regulation of the conditions of work of women as shall safeguard their welfare and that of the family and the community.

8. The right of employees and employers alike to organize for collective bargaining and social action; protection

<sup>1</sup> Adopted at the Indianapolis meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, December 8, 1932.



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of both in the exercise of this right; the obligation of both to work for the public good; encouragement of cooperatives and other organizations among farmers and other groups.

9. Abolition of child labor; adequate provision for the protection, education, spiritual nurture, and wholesome recreation of every child.

10. Protection of the family by the single standard of purity; educational preparation for marriage, home-making and parenthood.

11. Economic justice for the farmer in legislation, financing of agriculture, transportation, and the price of farm products as compared with the cost of machinery and other commodities which he must buy.

12. Extension of the primary cultural opportunities and social services now enjoyed by urban populations to the farm family.

13. Protection of the individual and society from the social, economic and moral waste of any traffic in intoxicants and habit-forming drugs.

14. Application of the Christian principle of redemption to the treatment of offenders; reform of penal and correctional methods and institutions and of criminal court procedure.

15. Justice, opportunity and equal rights for all; mutual good will and cooperation among racial, economic, and religious groups.

16. Repudiation of war, drastic reduction of armaments, participation in international agencies for the peaceable settlement of all controversies; the building of a cooperative world order.

17. Recognition and maintenance of the rights and responsibilities of free speech, free assembly, and a free press; the encouragement of free communication of mind with mind, as essential to the discovery of truth.

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### A PROPHET MOVEMENT

The point of this chapter has been that in the background of American democracy, there is a "prophet movement" which has historic continuity, and which, in succeeding periods, has spoken in the name of Christianity about problems of right and justice. It began in the eighteenth century when a new democratic government was emerging and it spoke about a Christian concept of the state and of law. For the last seventy-five years it has been wrestling with the question of why and how and with what social results people make their living, trade and own property.

This prophet movement is often nothing more and nothing less than the liquid fire of a human passion for righteousness, which erupts as a volcano erupts. It burns as dross the passions of race and class. In the next chapter we shall see it in conflict with the raw human emotions of prejudice, greed and fear. In a succeeding section we shall see the passion for righteousness struggling for economic justice, and in still another chapter we shall find it battling with pride of empire.

## CHAPTER V

### *Religion and the National Heart*

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A MAN came in to see me and said, "I am a propagandist. It has been my job for years to turn public opinion in the direction in which I, or other people, want it to go. I don't do it by appealing to reason as you people out here think it ought to be done; I appeal to prejudices. It isn't nice but then people aren't nice. I know how to get results."

My visitor, it seemed, had something he wanted to put over with the Protestant churches. I didn't take his proposition seriously but I was interested in the sort of thing a man of his calibre could do in Chicago. I asked, "Do you know William Hale Thompson?"

"Yes," he replied. "In fact, I was responsible for his election because I coined the phrase that put him over: 'Punch King George on the snoot.' I'll tell you about it. A representative of the utilities came to my office one day and said: 'We have to get William Hale Thompson elected mayor of Chicago.' I told him I couldn't help him, I had

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to leave for the Orient where I was doing propaganda work for the Canadian government but I could get J— B— out from Southern California. B— arrived and when he got to my office I told him that utilities wanted William Hale Thompson for mayor.

“ ‘What is your scheme?’ he asked. I turned to the *Daily News Almanac* and tore out a page listing all the German and Irish societies in Chicago. I said, ‘Here is what you work on and your slogan is “Punch King George on the snoot.”’ We went up and saw the British Consulate and the Canadian Consulate and told them not to get excited; they said they thought it was a good joke. We made terms with the utilities. Then we came back and started that campaign. We sent a letter to every German and Irish society listed and began the publication of propaganda in the newspapers. That campaign had been under way for two weeks before William Hale Thompson even knew that King George *was* king of England!”

Some time ago I was on a trip to India and I was introduced as a citizen of that city which took the English ivy off from some of its public buildings because English ivy was looked upon as pro-British propaganda. Every day on the ship’s bulletin board there was some joke about that city which was ruled over by William Hale Thompson. When I was introduced to be chairman of the ship’s concert the captain took occasion to call attention to the fact that I came from the city which was ruled by men who



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took as their civic slogan, "Punch King George on the snoot." I replied that so far as I knew the mayor of Chicago had nothing against the British but he knew that there were one hundred and fifty thousand Irish in the city who would vote for anyone who would irritate the British. I thought it was really up to the British to explain why it was we had one hundred and fifty thousand Irishmen who felt that way!

One front on which democracy has failed to carry through is in the winning of the emotions of the large-scale populations for public-minded activity. In 1845 Robert Owen said: "But let none suppose that they are not prejudiced. The people of all nations over the world are locally prejudiced, in their sectarian dissensions, in their laws, governments and customs, in their classifications and partisan notions."

### LARGE-SCALE EMOTION

One has only to go from Massachusetts to California and then up into the Northwest and down into the South to realize that large-scale sectional and group emotions constitute the major problem of the government in carrying through united national actions. Consumers constitute a distinct group who feel themselves threatened by rising prices for the farmers and labor. Farmers, resentful over the exploitation of the decade which has just passed, are still suspicious of the government. Manufacturers who, for

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fifty years, have received the government benefits of a protective tariff are crying out against the government's going into business in competition with them or for the benefit of the farmer and laborer. They tell the farmer about the foolishness of adopting a political remedy for an economic disease in phrases which make good reading in the comic supplement.

### CITY TENSIONS

The city itself is a constellation of emotional tensions, well recognized by all the demagogues.

If one will take his stand on a toe of land which juts out into the lake at the foot of Fifty-third Street, Chicago, he can see the whole city and in essentials every American city.

On his left are the steel mills with the cottages of the Polish and the huts of the Mexican steelworkers. On his extreme right are the palatial apartments of the "Gold Coast," a little nearer are the commercial towers of the Loop, the center of Middle Western finance and trade. Nearer to the lake than the Loop are the stadium, the art galleries and the museums, products of the city's financial surplus and artistic richness. A little nearer on the right are the two hundred and twenty thousand Negroes, the latest of the work-seekers who have migrated here. In the immediate foreground are twenty-story buildings, man's latest device for housing himself against the elements; so

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successful has he been that with them he courts association with the rigors of storm and wind. A little farther on are the classic towers of the university, home of science, the humanities and religion. On beyond are parks, apartment houses, stockyards, suburbs; and beyond the suburbs are towns, villages, hamlets, farms, quiet centers in a great hinterland, for Chicago emerged at that point where work-seeking, home-seeking men and women found their point of maximum contact with the outside world and the resources of the Mississippi Valley.

Chicago has been settled in four great epochs, characterized by the diverse racial stocks of the settlers and immigrants. In the first, which extended from 1833 to 1850, came principally the descendants of the Anglo-Saxon colonists of the Atlantic seaboard, bringing Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Congregational and Episcopalian churches. The second settlement covered the years from 1860 to 1890. During this period the newcomers were from Northern Europe and Ireland, and they brought Lutheran and Roman Catholic churches.

The third epoch began with 1890 and continued to the World War. The immigrants were from Southern and Eastern Europe, and they established Italian, Polish and Bohemian Catholic churches and Jewish synagogues.

The fourth period started with the World War and reaches to the present time. The newcomers are from the Negro rural South and Mexico. They were responsible for

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the Methodist and Baptist Negro churches and the Mexican Catholic churches. With the coming of the Negroes to Chicago the Baptist denomination jumped from fifth to second place in number of members.

Chicago, in its population distribution, is like a four-layer cake. The base layer is old American stock, Protestant, located now largely in the suburbs or along the lake front. The second layer is North European, predominantly Lutheran, living in the interstitial areas not occupied by the old American stock. The third layer is South and East European, Catholic, and lives in the areas nearest to the Lutheran. The fourth is Negro, American, and Mexican, and is segregated in areas convenient to centers of industry and where house rent is cheapest.

Chicago is a constellation of tensions, racial and economic. It is a tangled mass of Old World loyalties. There has as yet been accomplished no integration of culture in the city. The city hunts in packs. These racial groups are the form in which a great deal of this hunting is done. An old American population holding a central advantageous position in a suburb fights against the threat of a German invasion on the north and a Bohemian menace on the south. The encroachment of the Negro strikes terror to a lake front white territory, which employs every device of property ownership and social intimidation to build a wall of exclusion. The Poles about the steel mills hate the Negroes and Mexicans who offer the new threat to their jobs. The



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Jews hunt in packs in the region of high finance, and the social clubs counter with social exclusion. Rents and prices are determined by reference to these groupings. Real estate men take action against undesirables, those people whose presence lowers real estate values.

A further major tension in urban life is the strain of our industrial system upon both employer and employee. The competitive drive of urban business is stimulating but it is at the same time terrifying. Farmers make their living from the soil, city men make their living from other men. The Association of Ice-Cream Manufacturers listed in their code of ethics twenty-six bad practices which they promised not to perpetrate on each other, among which are the following:

Bribery of employees to introduce foreign substances into competitors' goods.

Inducing a competitor's employees to leave in such numbers as to disorganize his business.

Depriving competitors of transportation through bribery of railroad employees.

Depriving a competitor of raw materials.

Selling below cost to force a competitor from the field, etc.

I do not say that all twenty-six items of malpractice mentioned in this code are practised by members of this association. It has, I suspect, the same significance as if you should, on next New Year's Day, publish to the world: "It is hereby declared that John McDonald and I will, this

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coming year, tell the truth about our golf score." It is a declaration about the future, but it carries certain revelatory implications as to the past.

### URBAN LABOR IS FULL OF FEAR

But the other side of this tension is the hazard of urban labor in its job. The increase in production of American factories goes on apace. From 1923 to 1928 the output of our factories showed a consistent increase each year, and if this is an index of human prosperity, all would seem to be well. But these same factories employed seven hundred thousand fewer workers in 1928 than in 1923. Family tragedy among the workers is the reverse of American factory efficiency. And this is not all the story. It might be asked, Why is not this the basis for a new back-to-the-farm movement? If there is no place for the displaced worker in the factory, why should he not go back to the farm? But here again the same factors are at work. Modern machinery is supplanting man power on the farm even more effectively than it has in the city.

The government statistics of this period recording the flow of displaced farm populations to cities showed that, whereas the net number of those leaving the farms for the cities reached in some years almost a million and a quarter, the lowest for any year was never less than six hundred and four thousand. This displaced farm population and these seven hundred thousand displaced urban workers

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were standing at the urban factory gates looking for jobs and behind them stood families asking for food, education and all that goes to contribute to American citizenship.

For several winters I participated in the management of what was known as the Hobo College in Hobohemia on West Madison Street, Chicago. If the hobos learned as much as I did, it was not a bad investment. I learned in the first place to distinguish between hobos and others who inhabited Hobohemia with them. The hobo is not a tramp and is not a bum. The hobo is a man who travels and works; a tramp is a man who travels but does not work; a bum is a man who neither travels nor works.

At the Hobo College I learned a device for keeping audiences awake. Someone gave the college a large number of ancient but easy chairs which were often occupied by bums who had "carried the banner" all night and had a tendency to sleep during lectures. The hobos contented themselves for a while with periodically throwing the bums out into the street. Finally, they decided to abolish the easy chairs which were the source of attraction to the weary and footsore travelers of West Madison Street. They broke all the easy chairs, burned them up, and in their stead placed very plain, backless benches on which only a sober and wide-awake man could sit. If a man went to sleep on one of these benches, he automatically fell off and someone else took his place. They were named the "Anti-Booze, Anti-Snooze Church Pews."

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A poll of three hundred hobos assembled there showed that about half came from the city and the rest from small towns and the country. Practically all were English-speaking. Hobo College was at that time one of the few institutions where lecturers could always use the English language. Hobohemia was the land of graphic speech. They never hesitated when it came to improving the English language. I learned there that West Madison Street was the "Main Stem," the employment agency was the "Slave Market," the square on the lower north side haunted by soap-boxers was "Bughouse Square." The place where a man can get a bed on the floor is a "flophouse"; begging from the front door is "panhandling"; begging from the back door is "mooching"; the hobo who carried a bundle was known as the "bindle stiff"; the heavy drinker, the "booze-hoister"; the "shovel stiff," the man who worked with a shovel; the man who worked on the railroad, the "rust-eater"; the man who did rough carpenter work, a "splinter-belly"; and the sailor, the "beachcomber."

I learned that in Hobohemia there were two social philosophies. There was the social philosophy of the mission supported by the churches, which caused the hobo to believe that his own sinfulness was the basis of his unemployment and which graphically pictured the career of the mission convert as that of a man who, after his conversion, got back his old job, gradually achieved economic independence and became a man of piety and probity. On the other hand was



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the philosophy of the various organizations which proved to the hobo that he was the victim of society. This the hobo found only too easy to believe. When a man failed he could blame others for his failure.

Conditions have changed. For every hobo of the old days there are ten men with their families who have taken to the road. I stood the other day in a poultry-packing establishment and watched the new process by which the feathers were removed from chickens. In my boyhood days we immersed the chickens in hot water and then, at a good deal of discomfort to ourselves, picked off the feathers. Now they cut a nerve at the base of the chicken's brain and the little feather pockets are released and the feathers are swept off by handfuls. Something like this has happened to the neighborhood pockets of America. Men, women and whole families have been swept out onto the roads, and by the hundreds of thousands are wandering over the country in search of a permanent place in which they can work.

I believe it is no exaggeration to say that the great city is a house of fear. When your rural man prayed, Give us this day our daily bread, he thought of a God whose favor could be shown in a favorable sun and rain and soil. But when the urban man prays, be he employer or employee, he thinks of railroads, factories, labor unions, wage rates, banks and foreign competition and, bewildered by the complicated forces playing about him, he wonders if there is any God of the social order.

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### DEMAGOGUES THRIVE ON GROUP SELFISHNESS

Chicago has had its full share of political demagogues. To be a politician in a democracy has too often called for a special skill in ferreting out the deep-seated prejudices which govern the likes and dislikes of a population and appealing to those prejudices. To a visitor from Mars a national political convention must be a most incredible sight in a land once devoted to the reasoned procedure of a town meeting.

But it is not always in political conventions that American emotions yield to the blandishment of the man who knows how to substitute petty securities for public-mindedness. The following story, taken from the *Chicago Daily News*, gives a picture of the career of John J. Coughlin, often spoken of as Bathhouse John. He and Michael Kenna were powers in the river ward of Chicago.

Out of their homely liking for the unfortunate grew the Kenna-Coughlin technique for building political power, which gave them control of the first ward without a break for nearly fifty years. Their power is unique. Nowhere else in the world, perhaps, has an elected official been returned to office, as was Coughlin, for forty-six years. Kenna lost only once. He was beaten in 1895 for the city council by Paddy Gleason, constable in the Old South Town. Kenna retired with a bow to "The Bath," in 1921, when the legislature ruled that each ward should have only one alderman.

The author of their system, in English history, is probably Robin Hood, who raided the king's forests and way-

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laid rich travelers to distribute the proceeds to the poor. It goes great in a democracy. Former Mayor William Hale Thompson said at the city council finance committee banquet at the Palmer House in December, 1936, that he learned all he knew of politics from Alderman Coughlin. Other speakers said Jim Farley in Washington had copied his system.

In the gray wolf era of the city council the Municipal Voters' League condemned "The Bath" each year in the strongest words of the dictionary. The league accused him of voting for every bad ordinance, for every franchise raising rates or surrendering city streets. What the league failed to note was that all these years Aldermen Coughlin and Kenna kept on caring for their own voters' families—getting boys out of jail at night, buying clothing to keep the kids in school, sending city inspectors to keep the plumbing working and the endless round of aldermanic errands—and never charging one voter one cent.

The big merchant in the Loop might be advised where to buy his insurance or his electric sign, but the poor families who lived and voted on the fringe of the richest ward in Chicago got all service free and with a smile and pat on the back.

Alderman Coughlin never told this part of the story. His outline of political success was:

"We stick to one idea—live and let live. We count our voters, and then we count the votes. We don't make any deals which can kick back into the first ward, and we don't take any chances. Chances don't pay in politics.

"I learned from meeting horsemen and other patrons at the bathhouse and at the Silver Dollar saloon, which I opened in 1892, where the Hotel LaSalle now stands, always to give the other fellow a chance. Never carry a

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grudge. Don't mix in the other fellows' fights. Sing 'Sweet Adeline' with them both."

"The Bath" opened the Silver Dollar saloon the year he was first elected a city father—1892. The name came from the plaque of silver dollars cemented into the floor and other silver dollars cemented into the floor and walls here and there. His bartender was George Silver. "The Bath" was ever ready to blend his melodious baritone in "Sweet Adeline" but George was always in the background with the bung-starter handy.

Alderman Coughlin lived his creed. Not even against the Municipal Voters' League would he hold a grudge. Only once in forty years of pitiless attack did John reply. That time he rose on the city council floor on a point of personal privilege and said:

"The Municipal Voters' League accused me in today's papers of having been born in Waukegan. I ask you, my colleagues, not to believe this error. I was born at Harrison and Franklin Streets, in Chicago, the finest city in the world, in the first ward, whose people I now represent, and where I shall die."

The city council finance committee's ceremony of December, 1936, at which a sword was laid across Alderman Coughlin's neck and he was created "Knight of the Bath" presented his life story in a dramatic program.

Among the accomplishments outside of politics were:

Owner of a racing stable since 1885.

Lingerie salesman.

Promoter of the old first ward ball.

Owner of a zoo in Denver.

Ticket scalper.

Plate-glass broker.

Inventor of disappearing railway tracks in stations.

Insurance salesman.



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Creator of fashions in men's clothing.

Poet.

From the days when Aldermen Kenna and Coughlin used to trip into the council meeting, dressed in frock coats, white silk vests and flowing lavender or pink neckcloths tied flamboyantly, "The Bath" was known as the Beau Brummell among city fathers. He was worth a fortune to the haberdashers in his ward for his frequent speeches on proper dress for men. His annual proclamation of straw hat day was usually accompanied by a poem.

To stimulate the sale of suspenders in 1921 when men's fashions threatened to leave Loop merchants with unsold stocks of galluses, John recited a verse on the council floor, which got into the papers as follows:

This world is full of four-flushers  
That are only just pretenders.  
They aren't nearly as important as  
To man are his suspenders.

The "red-light" district, which grew up in the south end of the first ward, was a survival from the boisterous days of Chicago's youth and boom, after the fire and the Columbian exposition of 1893. It was not known that "The Bath" had any large investment there, excepting in Freiberg's dance hall in Twenty-second Street, in which he backed Ike Bloom.

Of the first ward ball, of which Aldermen Kenna and Coughlin were the directors, history retains the word of John Wilkie, President McKinley's chief of secret service, to wit:

"I have done Paris and have attended the Thieves' Ball in London. The world has got nothing on this."

Alderman Coughlin always led the grand march. What he did he did well.

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Poor folk and kids were two things the old gentleman never forgot. It was only a few short months ago that the bureau of electricity was asking the city council to do something to stop boys from throwing rocks and breaking street lamps—this practice costs the taxpayers into six figures a year—and John arose and said:

"I was a small boy myself once, out in the country at Harrison and Franklin streets. Kids will throw rocks. It's nothing but the spring."<sup>1</sup>

### GROUP EMOTIONS BAFFLE DEMOCRACY

Democracy trusts the emotions of the people but it is these group loyalties which get it into trouble. In a good many cases democracy has been the theory by which men have pried themselves loose from some totalitarian society. Its emphasis has been more on revolt than on tradition. The theory of democracy is that there should be critical interplay among various social agencies. Democracy provides for this by emphasizing freedom of speech, discussion, division of labor among various functions, all the while expecting that out of this division of function and interplay of criticism there will come some kind of co-operative unity.

The deplorable fact must be faced, however, that democracies have not thus far shown much success in achieving a cooperative social order. Democracy demands something more than separation of church and state. It

<sup>1</sup> The *Chicago Daily News*, November 11, 1938, p. 4. Used by permission.

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envisioning an organized society which allows for full critical interplay among various cultural values, and which eventually comes into being as a product of cooperative planning and working. Needless to say it is this form of society which is being threatened at the present time.

Every demagogue, every dictator, every person who fails to respond to the great purposes of life is a part of that threat which imperils the democratic order of life. This is primarily a problem in the realm in which religion deals. It is more fundamental than political organization. It constitutes a major problem in democratic statecraft. All of our major statesmen at the present time are saying that progress in the United States awaits a change of heart, a purification of heart on the part of the American people. If this means anything at all, it means an appreciation of values and a giving of loyalty to values which will make it possible for plans to be formulated and laws to be passed and executed that offer possibilities for a better order of national life. Democracies of all governments will have to believe the scriptural injunction, "Keep thy heart with all diligence; for out of it are the issues of life."

But a still clearer indication of the importance of these large-scale emotions in national action is seen in those countries which have already undertaken some kind of unifying action. In Germany, Russia and Italy, governments are frankly recognizing that their fundamental problem is the enlistment of the emotions of the people in some kind of

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unified emotional commitment. The totalitarian state must be first of all totalitarianism of the heart. Hence these nations develop great programs for regimenting the emotions of the people. All the techniques of religion are adopted. There is a vivid proclaiming of that which is most desirable. There is also a proclaiming with equal vividness of that which is to be hated. All these countries develop their national saviors, their national devils, their songs which are militant for the new order, their martyrs who have suffered for it, their festival days which memorialize it, their unified systems of propaganda for determining the minds of the people. These emotions are organized around values which are made to appear to the people as worthy of supreme devotion. Viewed objectively, every one of these adventures is a laboratory experiment in the discovery and in the defending of values. It is not Christian but it is the material out of which religion is made.

### THE CHURCH DEALS WITH EMOTION

In the midst of our struggling, prejudiced, lying, group-minded democracy stands the church, speaking about purity of heart and truth-seeking. The church has much to say about people who delight in lies and people who love truth. There is the suggestion here that one reason the liar has authority is that there are people who want to be told lies. The demagogue thrives among people who enjoy hearing that which flatters their vanity and self-righteousness. If



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democracy demands a great revival of truth-telling, it requires also a revival of truth-hearing. Jesus could not tell the truth to the men of his time because their hearts were evil. The altar of confession may be the preliminary stage to the school of instruction.

But in the midst of the state stands the church with its ministrations of acquaintance. We have more of a tendency to tell lies and believe lies about people whom we do not know. This logic is back of the good-will tours, reconciliation trips and seminars which the boards of home missions and other church agencies conduct among groups of varying racial and national backgrounds. The neighborhood house and Christian center form a basis of acquaintance among people as people. Men like Bathhouse John ought not to have a monopoly on the authority of acquaintance. All through the era of the depression Christian centers and settlements have been able to hold hearings among the unemployed because in all the areas of great unemployment there were these neighborhood house workers whom the people trusted.

On beyond purity of heart and the authority of acquaintance there is the clarifying power of discussion. It is to the credit of the church and its social and missionary agencies of many types that they have carried on their share of the public discussion which has brought to the truth the clarifying influence of the open forum. But discussion is of little value unless there is an agreed-upon

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basis of facts, and here it seems necessary that the church have the ability to ascertain the facts which are pertinent to its program of brotherhood. Might it not be that a church which has spent millions of dollars on colleges and mission schools could call upon these institutions to serve at this point? The battle for democracy can be won at no less a cost.

## CHAPTER VI

### *Democratizing the Gains of a Commonwealth*

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DEMOCRACY is in trouble today partly because, on certain fronts, it did not carry through. It has had a respect for the individual. To a certain extent it has sought to distribute its power. It has believed in progress through social education. But it will not do to say that the gains of the democratic commonwealth are mass gains and have been shared in by the masses. Neither has it kept its cooperative spirit. On the economic front, the rewards of democracy have been very much one-sided. Let us examine the situation and understand, if we can, what has happened.

#### HOW DID WE ARRIVE WHERE WE ARE?

Something over a hundred years ago there began in America that development known as the Industrial Revolution. As a people we undertook a new way of making a living. We gave up the old way of neighborhood production and consumption and began standardized production

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in the factory and the sale of our goods in a world-wide market. When we did this we de-personalized the common labor of life, and the factory system, like Cain of old, became the father of those who dwelt in cities. The blacksmith, the seamstress, the miller and butcher, all departed to take up specialized tasks in the great factories.

The standardized process became the rule. The tractor which has displaced old Dobbin in the fields starts as a raw piece of pig iron and chugs out on its own power at the other end of the factory, and on it each man has performed only a fragmentary task. The master cordwainer is now a man with a million dollars invested in a shoe factory. He lives on Uncommonwealth Avenue; his former comrade at the bench is a man he no longer remembers by name who lives in another part of the city, and they make shoes for a man on the other side of the world whom they never expect to see.

In 1791 Alexander Hamilton could write:

All the different processes of spinning cotton are performed by means of machines, which are put in motion by water and attended chiefly by women and children; and by a smaller number of persons, on the whole, than are requisite in the ordinary mode of spinning. And it is an advantage of great moment that the operations of this mill may continue with convenience during the night as well as during the day. The prodigious effect of such a machine is easily conceived. To this invention is to be attributed, essentially, the immense progress which has been so sud-



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denly made in Great Britain in the various fabrics of cotton.

This is not least valuable of the means by which manufacturing institutions contribute to augment the general stock of industry and production. In places where those institutions prevail, besides the persons regularly engaged in them, they afford occasional and extra employment to industrious individuals and families, who are willing to devote the leisure resulting from the intermissions of their ordinary pursuits to collateral labors, as a resource for multiplying their acquisitions or their enjoyments. The husbandman himself experiences a new source of profit and support from the increased industry of his wife and daughters, invited and stimulated by the demands of the neighboring manufactories.

Besides this advantage of occasional employment to classes having different occupations, there is another, of a nature allied to it and of a similar tendency. This is the employment of persons who would be otherwise idle, and in many cases a burden on the community, either from the bias of temper, habit, infirmity of body or some other cause, indisposing or disqualifying them from the toils of the country. It is worthy of particular remark that, in general, women and children are rendered more useful, and the latter more early useful, by manufacturing establishments than they would otherwise be. Of the number of persons employed in the cotton manufactories of Great Britain, it is computed that four-sevenths nearly are women and children; of whom the great proportion are children and many of them a tender age.

The United States already in great measure supply themselves with nails and spikes. . . . The first and most laborious occupation in this manufacture is performed by water-mills; and of the persons afterwards employed, a great proportion are boys, whose early habits of industry are of

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importance to the community, to the present support of their families, and to their own future comfort.<sup>1</sup>

This comparatively harmless description of the launching of the process for the manufacture of goods hints at certain difficulties in the new type of manufacture which later became prodigious.

### INDUSTRY'S BASIC THEORY

The basic principle in manufacture after the new fashion was that the entrepreneur who launched a factory was allowed as his reward all that was left after he had paid interest, rent, wages and taxes, had bought his raw materials in the cheapest market and sold his finished product in the highest market. With all the hazards of a competitive business these adventurers in the new kind of manufacture very quickly learned how to save themselves against foreign competition by high tariffs and customs. As Chenery says: "They were full of zest in keeping out the products made by the pauper laborers of Europe and they were equally enthusiastic in facilitating the importation of these pauper laborers themselves."<sup>2</sup>

Their enthusiasm for the pauper laborers meant that they multiplied competition among the laborers from whom they had to buy. When five laborers stood at the factory

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in *Industry and Human Welfare*, by William L. Chenery, p. 4. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1922. Used by permission.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

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gate together when there was only a job for one, the manufacturers had all the advantage. And likewise they learned how to multiply competition among those from whom they bought their raw materials. They bargained across two counters. Over one counter they bargained with labor and they even brought the Chinese in from across the Pacific in order to supply workers for the New England mills. Likewise they brought in children off the farms of New England. "The Committee on Manufactures in 1816 estimated that 24,000 boys under seventeen and 66,000 women and girls were included in the total calculation of 100,000 operatives in cotton mills."<sup>1</sup> These boys and girls worked twelve and thirteen hours a day.

Not until very recently was child labor effectively fought in the United States. As late as 1910 the census showed that two million children between the ages of ten and fifteen were still employed in gainful occupations in the United States.

But these adventurers in manufacturing bargained across another counter; they bargained with the farmers for the raw materials for the factories. William E. Dodd, the distinguished professor of American history in the University of Chicago and later our ambassador to Germany, describes the fate of the farmer while we were building up our great industrial plants. It is the story of farmers fight-

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

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ing wars to save the nation and then having to pay for the wars because the industrial forces of the center manipulated tariffs, customs and currency rates.

### THE CONCENTRATION OF NATIONAL WEALTH

As a result of this one-sided development Berle and Means, in a book entitled *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, were able to list two hundred non-banking corporations, most of which had assets of over one hundred million dollars totaling nearly half of all the corporate wealth in the United States. Of these corporations Professors Berle and Means say:

These great companies form the very framework of American industry. The individual must come in contact with them almost constantly. He may own an interest in one or more of them, he may be employed by one of them, but above all he is continually accepting their service. If he travels any great distance he is almost certain to ride on one of the great railroad systems. The engine which draws him has probably been constructed by the American Locomotive Company or the Baldwin Locomotive Works; the car in which he rides is likely to have been made by the American Car and Foundry Company or one of its subsidiaries, unless he is enjoying the services of the Pullman Company. The rails have almost certainly been supplied by one of the eleven steel companies on the list; and coal may well have come from one of the four coal companies, if not from a mine owned by the railroad itself. Perhaps the individual travels by automobile—in a car manufactured by the Ford, General Motors, Studebaker, or



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Chrysler Companies, on tires supplied by Firestone, Goodrich, Goodyear or the United States Rubber Company. He may choose among the brands furnished by one of the twenty petroleum companies, all actively seeking his trade. Should he pause to send a telegram or to telephone, one of the listed companies would be sure to fill his need.

Perhaps, on the other hand, the individual stays in his own home in comparative isolation and privacy. What do the two hundred largest companies mean to him there? His electricity and gas are almost sure to be furnished by one of these public utility companies; the aluminum of his kitchen utensils by the Aluminum Company of America. His electric refrigerator may be the product of General Motors Company, or of one of the two great electric equipment companies, General Electric and Westinghouse Electric. The chances are that the Crane Company has supplied his plumbing fixtures, the American Radiator and Standard Sanitary Corporation his heating equipment. He probably buys at least some of his groceries from the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company—a company that expected to sell one-eighth of all the groceries in the country in 1930 (according to the *Wall Street Journal* for November 25, 1929)—and he secures some of his drugs, directly or indirectly, from the United Drug Company. The cans which contain his groceries may well have been made by the American Can Company; his sugar has been refined by one of the major companies, his meat has probably been prepared by Swift, Armour or Wilson, his crackers put up by the National Biscuit Company. The newspaper which comes to his door may be printed on International Paper Company paper or on that of the Crown Zellerbach Corporation; his shoes may be one of the International Shoe Company's makes; and although his suit may not be made of

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American Woolen Company cloth, it has doubtless been stitched on a Singer sewing machine.

If he seeks amusement through a radio he will almost of necessity use a set made under a license of the Radio Corporation of America. When he steps out to the movies he will probably see a Paramount, Fox or Warner Brothers' picture (taken on Eastman Kodak film) at a theatre controlled by one of these producing groups. No matter which of the alluring cigarette advertisements he succumbs to he is almost sure to find himself smoking one of the many brands put out by the "big four" tobacco companies, and he probably stops to buy them at the United Cigar store on the corner.

Even where the individual does not come in direct contact, he cannot escape indirect contact with these companies, so ubiquitous have they become. There are few articles of consumption to whose production one of the big companies has not to some extent contributed. The International Harvester Company and the Deere Company, plowmakers, have aided in the production of most of the bread that the American eats, of much of the cotton he wears and of many of the other agricultural products he consumes. It is almost impossible to obtain electric power from a local utility without receiving service from generating equipment supplied by one of the two big electric equipment companies. Few industrial products are made without the aid of the big companies. And nearly every article involved transportation by one of the big railroads, either in the state of a raw material or that of a finished product.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, by Adolf A. Berle, Jr., and Gardiner C. Means, p. 24. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1933. Used by permission.

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All this is a far cry from the variety of production and consumption once carried on in the days of homespun where skilled workmen performed tasks for which they were rewarded by the approval of a small neighborhood in whose eyes they desired to be a success.

Commenting on recent statistics, Berle and Means say:

It is apparent from these figures that a very considerable portion of the industrial wealth of the country has been concentrated under the control of relatively few huge units. There were over 300,000 non-financial corporations in the country in 1929. Yet 200 of these, or less than seven-hundredths of one per cent, control nearly half the corporate wealth.

It must further be remembered that the influence of one of these huge companies extends far beyond the assets under its direct control. Smaller companies which sell to or buy from the larger companies are likely to be influenced by them to a vastly greater extent than by other smaller companies with which they might deal. In many cases the continued prosperity of the smaller company depends on the favor of the larger and almost inevitably the interests of the latter become the interests of the former. The influence of the larger company on prices is often greatly increased by its mere size, even though it does not begin to approach a monopoly. Its political influence may be tremendous. Therefore, if roughly half of the corporate wealth is controlled by two hundred large corporations and half by smaller companies, it is fair to assume that very much more than half of industry is dominated by these great units. This concentration is made even more significant when it is recalled that as a result of it approximately 2,000 individuals out of a population of one

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hundred and twenty-five million are in a position to control and direct half of industry.<sup>1</sup>

Another writer, Ferdinand Lundberg,<sup>2</sup> declares that the United States is owned and operated today by a hierarchy of sixty richest families. He states that not only is there a concentration of wealth in these families but that their members have intermarried to a large degree, a consolidation of power through intermarriage such as took place in the feudal centuries. Besides this, there is a tremendous control of the press by these families, as well as a control of the cultural features of American life due to the fact that they are the great sources of benevolence.

This concentration of power has taken the place of the democratically owned wealth of which de Tocqueville spoke and which he said was the basis, or at least partly the basis, for our successful democracy.

### THE CASE FOR FREE ENTERPRISE

In a pamphlet entitled "The American Way," issued by the National Association of Manufacturers, the economic characteristics of our way of life are itemized in the following terms:

1. The right of the individual to seek the kind of gainful employment he chooses. No authority, or custom equiva-

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *America's 60 Families*, by Ferdinand Lundberg, p. 3. New York, The Vanguard Press, 1937.



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lent to authority, can dictate anybody's choice of a vocation, though of course circumstances may determine it.

2. The right of the individual to sell the products of his work, in goods or services, or any of his lawful possessions, to anyone at any time. This means a free exchange of goods and services.

3. The right of the individual to use the proceeds of such sales as he sees fit—to save, to invest, to spend or to give away—according to his own preference and according to laws governing such transactions. This carries out the principle of free exchange.

4. The right of the individual to own private property and to enjoy the use of it as long as such use does not interfere with the right of another to a like use of his own property.

Going further the pamphlet continues:

These are some of the things the American system has done:

1. Increased fourfold the real wages of the American worker since 1790, and to a level reached by no other nation.

2. Reduced the hours of work from an average of about sixty a week in 1890 to around forty today.

3. Increased the share of the national income paid out in the form of wages and salaries, as compared with the share paid out in the form of dividends, interest, and rents. In 1850, for example, approximately thirty-eight per cent of the national income was disbursed in wages and salaries. By 1909 this figure had increased to over fifty-four per cent, and today it is sixty-seven and three-tenths per cent, the highest on record.

4. Increased jobs faster than a swiftly growing population. In 1870, 324 out of each thousand of our population

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were gainfully employed. In 1930, the last census year, it took 398 persons out of each thousand to supply the goods we needed.<sup>1</sup>

Another fact which shows the distribution of wealth among America's citizens is that there are over 131,000,000 insurance policies of all types in effect. Also, there are more than 44,500,000 savings accounts.

### THE GAINS ARE NOT SHARED

A statement compiled by one of the insurance companies throws a strong light on the inequalities of distribution among our population:

Out of 100 healthy men at 26, at 65

- 1 will be rich
- 4 will be fairly prosperous
- 5 will be supporting themselves
- 36 will be dead
- 54 will be dependent on relations, friends or the cold hand of charity.

The *New York Times* of September 3, 1939, contained the following information about our national prosperity: "The average family income of one-third of the nation was only \$471 in 1935-36, the National Resources Committee estimated in its report, submitted today to President Roosevelt."

<sup>1</sup> No. 1 in the *You and Industry* series. New York, National Association of Manufacturers, rev. ed., 1940. Used by permission.

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Even making allowance for the fact that in the list of small incomes are included many men without families, the gains of the commonwealth do not seem to have been mass gains.

Two great movements in American life for half a century have been working for the democratization of our economic life. The first of these may be called the Grange movement. In 1867, O. E. Kelly organized in Fredonia, New York, the first Grange. The movement grew rapidly until at the end of six years there were eight hundred and fifty-eight thousand members. The American Grange still flourishes with the highest membership in its history, and along with it have grown such movements as the Farmers' Union, the Farm Bureau, and a very large number of co-operatives, all representing a vigorous effort on the part of the American farmer to broaden the base of our economic prosperity.

Alongside this movement has come that of organized labor. From the days of the Knights of Labor, which paralleled the early Grange movement, there have come the millions of men who have organized in the American Federation of Labor and the Council for Industrial Organization. These two movements—that of the farmer and that of labor—have worked for the improvement of conditions in both agriculture and industry.

In addition to organized labor and organized agriculture there has developed an ever extending activity in the direc-

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tion of state ownership in the place of private ownership, and this raises the question: "How much can we turn over to the state?"

Christianity especially has held to a doctrine of the importance and responsibility of the individual. This idea religion shares with democracy. It will be a sorry day when the individual in American democracy can blame his social order for all that he becomes. Yet the religious forces may well examine their consciences as they review the way in which, in time of crisis, they have so often thrown the weight of their influence against changes in the status quo.

The social radicals are right in saying that personal responsibility requires a social order which invokes that responsibility. Neither can we deny to humanity the right to seek well-being through the state if there is no other alternative.

### HOW MUCH CAN WE TURN OVER TO THE STATE?

This question of how much we can safely turn over to the state is one that merits consideration.

Recently I have been viewing the operations of a welfare state in an area where it has been carrying on one of its most progressive pieces of social engineering. Under the guidance of two intelligent interpreters I visited the little rural community of Wheat in the state of Tennessee. They raise no wheat there; it was named after a preacher.



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I saw a mountain valley with a program of self-direction under a board of elected trustees. Many of the activities of the community are democratically planned around a conference table. A director of activities is found in a county extension expert. There is a consolidated school to which children come from all the adjacent territory. School buses furnish transportation not only for the schools but for the community meetings at which people discuss important local affairs. New flocks of sheep and new herds of cattle are coming into the valley, planned for and ordered through the county agent. Marketing is taken care of through egg-pools and the collective marketing of sheep and wool. Old arts are being revived. One man has renewed interest in the art of tanning leather. With the help of the Tennessee Valley Authority, phosphate is available in large enough quantities to restore the fertility of the soil. Hills are being terraced. The community owns a tractor which furnishes power for this rather difficult job. New barns are being built and new houses—not the extravagant style of the Cumberland Homesteads but a more natural and simple type which bears more relationship to the general surroundings and does not exhaust the energy of the people.

Best of all, the community spirit has penetrated and overcome the divisiveness and other-worldliness of the churches and they, too, are responding in the direction of religious enthusiasm for better community life.

Although in some ways the problems are different from

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those of the great western plains where the tractors are crowding the people off the soil, this community constitutes one answer to the problems of *The Grapes of Wrath*. The film, carrying on the message of the book, has helped to focus popular attention on this question. The community, however, can have the satisfaction of knowing there is no population erosion in its valley.

Democracy's competitors, faced with the necessity of finding new forms of community, are turning with enthusiasm to the state. There are two ways of holding this enthusiasm. One is to slip easily into the philosophy of "let the state do it"; the other is to recognize the importance of the state but to count as gain every center of responsibility which carries its own burden and does not become too dependent on the state. To this theory democracy strongly clings.

It is foolish to ignore what the state does well. When we are faced with a famine, only the state is powerful enough to act. The great racial scourges succumb to the policing and sanitary measures of the state. Engineering projects in harbors, rivers and in the hills make ocean transportation possible and the inland rivers our servants. An automobile company builds a good car but it is operated on state-provided highways. Research and publication by the state make available to all the wisdom of the scientist. Private institutions may educate a certain proportion of the people, but mass education is carried through the

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public schools and the state universities. Social services far beyond the limits of private charity are extended to the needy of the city and the great hinterlands. Why not let the state do it all?

There are certain considerations which give us pause. Historically the state has been an agency for the control of social forces. The modern state rose when the people felt the need of controlling those who lived in cities. The Hanseatic Leagues were traders filled with a new enthusiasm for a trader-controlled society, and they sought to set up a dictatorship of the burghers. The modern state had its inception as an agency for the control of a burgher society. The traders of Western Europe, with navies and armies furnished by the new states, went out to all the continents and captured for their respective countries the natural resources and the native peoples of the West and the East. The state became the agent of those who stood at the projecting end of empire.

It is this ancient state, largely conceived as the agent for the control and the extension of power and the making of war, which people are trying to convert into a welfare state which will take over all the nice, useful activities of society and perform them with an eye to the public welfare. One has to admit that the state already has a record for accomplishment which makes one hesitate to record its limitations. Along with the extension of empire have gone the conquering of famine, disease and isolation, and the

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establishment of great world routes of transportation and systems of communication which have made isolation impossible.

### WHAT THE STATE DOES NOT DO WELL

There are, however, certain functions which the state does not and is not likely to perform well. The state does not function usefully in organizing those matters of conscience which demand freedom and a certain amount of isolation. Religion and the state, when either is directly under the control of the other, have a tendency to mutual corruption. The same will probably be true in those phases of education that involve intellectual freedom on critical issues. A prominent educator not long ago remarked that education for a hundred years had been busy at the task of freeing itself from religion and that it would probably have to spend the next hundred years freeing itself from the state.

The world of primary contacts such as those relationships which men carry on in families and neighborhoods are all the better if not heavily regimented by the state. In a democracy, rule must be by majorities, and society does not advance majority-end foremost. The regulations which can be passed by the majorities would probably crush the spontaneity out of the delicate phases of life which do not await the adoption of a constitution and by-laws.

The concentration of responsibility for the control of



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those functions of society that touch the political sphere will not guarantee that all the necessary social functions will be well performed. If both political and economic powers are lodged with some types of officials, the temptation to capture such power will be overwhelming and the exercise of it will leave much to be desired. When the Amana community in Iowa separated the political, religious and economic functions, it was, they said, because good deacons did not necessarily make good business managers. When the early members of a totalitarian church in Massachusetts refused to continue the plan which made citizenship dependent on church membership, it was because good church members did not necessarily make good Indian fighters.

Finally, the state which makes war will always have the tendency to become totalitarian. In times of crisis it regiments both the emotions and the resources of the people. The tendency of the state to organize the economic resources, especially to be the agent of empire capitalization, multiplies its necessity of making war. When it makes war it must mobilize all the resources—religious, educational, and economic—thereby creating the totalitarian state. The process is cumulative and self-accelerating.

Democracy has proceeded on the theory that in separation of functions there is safety and efficiency, and it now faces the necessity of proving that, with freedom, there can be cooperation and the achievement of a more endur-

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ing union than is possible when the problem of cooperation is turned over to the state.

However, after all has been said about the limitations of the modern state, it is necessary to recognize that inevitably the state is to become increasingly important. We do not yet know all that the state does well and all that it does not do well. We must be prepared to explore in these regions. There are several kinds of activities which the state seems to perform to advantage. These may be itemized as follows:

1. Long-time programs such as reforestation or the development of activities which do not return immediate profit but nevertheless yield ultimate returns. It is an interesting fact that most of our great breeds of cattle in this country have the name of some old feudal lord who had a chance to develop his stock through specialized breeding over a long term of years. This line of work is now being taken up by the state agricultural colleges through experimentation in state-owned herds.

2. Large-scale activities like mass education, which is entirely too heavy a burden to be put upon private endowment.

3. General public welfare such as prevention of disease, guaranteeing of social security and large-scale relief. Of course the state for a long time has carried on such activities as road-building and mail-carrying.

4. Undertakings which have to do with law and order.

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There are, on the other hand, activities which the state does not do well:

1. Those enterprises which call for professional skill and devotion decidedly above the average.

2. Activities which demand personal devotion, such as family life.

3. Education which is above the average in its experimental quality.

4. Business ventures which offer returns but require high degree of initiative.

5. Matters of conscience where regimentation of private habits is involved. A good illustration of this is found in the prohibition activities of the state which ran far ahead of local public sentiment. On the other hand, what was done in the way of encouraging local temperance by the state seems to have been good.

No one knows at the present time just where the line is to be drawn which separates private initiative and state activity. If we can advance in an experimental way here, it will be beneficial.

The conviction which is borne in upon one is that the state ought not to assume the characteristics of a moral ultimate. And yet at the same time we must recognize that the state does not exist apart from the large-scale emotions and the moral convictions of the people. This is especially true in a democracy. Democracy presupposes a people of spiritual maturity and ethical awareness. It plans for the exer-

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cise of social criticism of the state. Democracy cannot live without it. Democracy assumes the existence of a moral order which deals with matters more fundamental than political. Underlying effective political action there are great moral convictions which can and must be cultivated. Democracy not only assumes morality, but it has a legitimate fear of the state, because reliance upon the state has a tendency not only to obscure the moral issues which lie in the background but to relieve people of the necessity of exercising these attitudes.

There can be no question about the many things which are done well by the modern state. It constitutes the great new agent for large-scale human betterment. But it also constitutes the great alibi. Men believe that here is something which can be captured, and through its capacity for propaganda and the exercise of power, some kind of substitute for the high cost of moral activity can be found. Life goes by default to the state. Economic power, professional ability and moral truths are taken over by the state. Truth is put up in packages which are congenial to the ruling power and handed back to the people in the shape of propaganda. As a result of all this the state gets bogged down in more activities than it can handle. In times of crisis it is compelled to become totalitarian. Of all this democracy has a legitimate fear. It knows that the foundations of society are more profound than what happens and what can possibly happen in the field of political activity.



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### WANTED: A CHANGE OF PHILOSOPHY

But the real issue for the Christian is not confined to a discussion of whether much or little property rests in the hands of private individuals or is turned over to the state. What is needed is a new philosophy and attitude about the whole question of how and why and with what social results we own property, trade and in general make our living. State ownership of property is no guarantee of its social purpose. In South Africa the state owns the railroads and the steel mills. Such ownership is one of the devices by which white men exploit black because they control the state.

There must take place in the United States today what took place in the thinking of men in the eighteenth century when they gave up the divine right of kings because a new and more profound interpretation of the kingship came into the thinking of common people. John Locke taught men that the only good law was one which was for the benefit of the people. We are now beginning to think more critically about the "divine right of property holding." Once more we are asking the question, "What is good property and by what right do we own it and use it?"

## CHAPTER VII

### *The Backwash of World Empire on Democracy*

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DEMOCRACY has its natural rootage in the simpler and more intimate relations of life—the home, the neighborhood and the world of simple labor. The Christian advocate of democracy has to realize first of all the resources which he possesses in these relationships, and second, that the extension of these values which are realizable in the more intimate world to the large-scale relationships is a mighty challenge. It often seems like an insuperable task. To believe that fellowship and communion which are basic to a world of democratic organization are the very essence of Christianity and call for nothing less than a world-wide fellowship of faith and good will is the essence of Christian missions.

If we cannot pay the price of world-wide fellowship we must inevitably accept the opposite, a world of empires built on force, fear and exploitation—a world which will destroy itself because of its own self-generated animosities,

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even as the Roman Empire did. The more one thinks about the early Christian communities and the Roman Empire, the more one is convinced that the only piece of permanent social building was that carried on by the Christian community in the face of the Roman Empire. Once more Christ faces Caesar, and the issues today are the same as they were in the second century.

### THE HIGH COST OF WAR

Let us look for a moment at the alternative in the devastating cost of war and its aftermath.

On a recent anniversary of the declaration of war by the United States against Germany in 1917, an article in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* summed up the results of the struggle.

Twenty-two years ago today the United States entered the World War. The cost of the war to this country in manpower was 126,000 dead and 234,300 wounded. The cost in money to date has reached the staggering sum of more than sixty-two billion dollars and is increasing at the rate of approximately a billion dollars a year.

The death toll includes 50,510 men killed in action or who died of wounds received in action, 62,670 who died of disease, and those who succumbed from other causes, such as accident and drowning. There are still 4,000 reported missing.

Records of casualties in the five previous wars in which this country engaged are not complete, listing only those killed in action or dying of wounds. These deaths totaled:

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|                        |                |
|------------------------|----------------|
| Revolutionary War      | 4,044          |
| War of 1812            | 1,956          |
| Mexican War            | 1,549          |
| Civil War—Union forces | 110,070        |
| Civil War—rebel forces | 74,524         |
| Spanish-American War   | 1,704          |
| TOTAL                  | <u>193,847</u> |

The United States treasury figures on the cost of the World War to this country are:

|                                                                                        |                         |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| War department                                                                         | \$14,849,593,666        |
| Navy department                                                                        | 3,401,342,952           |
| Shipping board and emergency fleet corporation                                         | 3,072,526,532           |
| Federal control of transportation                                                      | 1,629,469,535           |
| War risk insurance (to June 30, 1921)                                                  | 504,773,249             |
| Other treasury department expenditures including public health service and coast guard | 240,899,237             |
| Vocational rehabilitation (to June 30, 1921)                                           | 135,739,203             |
| European food relief                                                                   | 94,942,645              |
| Other administrative and executive expenses                                            | 273,535,952             |
| Interest on war debt                                                                   | 10,136,998,633          |
| Veterans' bureau (pensions, benefits, since June 30, 1921) (estimated)                 | 13,000,000,000          |
| Bonus payment (estimated)                                                              | 2,350,000,000           |
| TOTAL                                                                                  | <u>\$49,689,821,604</u> |

The World War debts and accrued interest owed by foreign powers to the United States, as of June 30, 1938, were \$13,007,010,382. Adding this to the previous sum gives a grand total of \$62,696,831,986. Another item of cost, which cannot be accurately estimated, was the loss of 394,658 tons of merchant ships which were sunk during the war.



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The \$62,696,831,986 figure of cost nearly reaches the entire income of the American people in a fiscal year. This income for 1937 was \$67,540,000,000. Estimated on a per capita basis for a year the cost of the war to our population of 130,000,000 would be about \$520 for each person.

Continuing peace time costs for the war include benefits and hospitalization for disabled veterans and pensions for widows and orphans. These and other items approximate a billion dollars a year. Calvin Coolidge once estimated that before the books are finally closed, the World War will have cost this country one hundred billion dollars.

The total cost of the United States' five previous wars, including war activities, pensions and interest on public debt, was \$16,077,624,019. This expense was divided as follows:

|                      |                         |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| Revolutionary War    | \$ 132,658,131          |
| War of 1812          | 179,892,888             |
| Mexican War          | 159,073,000             |
| Civil War            | 14,460,000,000          |
| Spanish-American War | 1,146,000,000           |
| TOTAL                | <u>\$16,077,624,019</u> |

This total, added to the cost of the World War to date, gives a grand total of \$78,774,456,005, the amount the American people have paid for six wars.<sup>1</sup>

Now wars are just the reverse side of community living. They represent the failure to accomplish a peaceful, progressive organization of society through an orderly process characterized by negotiation, court action and police power subordinated to citizenship deliberation. It becomes increas-

<sup>1</sup> *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 6, 1939.

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ingly evident that democracy in national life is totally impossible unless we can go forward to the accomplishment of democratic procedure on an international scale. We have had internationalism through empire building. Let us not fail to recognize that a certain kind of internationalism was achieved in the great empire extension which took place during the last three hundred years.

But this had its weakness, which was revealed when all of the new land and the weak peoples had been included in these empires, and the empire-building nations began to quarrel among themselves. There was hope at one time that the empires would give place to a world government of which the League of Nations would furnish the implementation. The failure to go forward to this is responsible for the present crisis which threatens to engulf civilization. There is justification, however, for the point of view that nations which entered the League did not look realistically enough at the undemocratic conditions underneath the League organization.

In 1937, after nearly a half year's sojourn in India, I had the choice of returning to America by way of England and attending the World Conference on Church, Community and State at Oxford, or of skirting around the outer edges of empire, following largely the lines of the colonial extension of the various nations, most of them represented at the Oxford Conference. Deliberately, because I thought I wasn't needed at Oxford, I chose to follow around what might be

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called "the receiving end of empire." To a large extent Western Europe is the projecting end of empire.

Leaving Bombay, we sailed across the Indian Ocean and went into Central Africa. We had a chance to see something of French Equatorial Africa, the Belgian Congo and South Africa. We crossed the South Atlantic to the old Spanish colonial territories of Brazil and Argentina. From Buenos Aires we traveled by airplane across the northern part of Argentina and then by various stages up to Panama and on to Mexico City. It literally was the outer edge of the old colonial empires, representing the expansion of Europe.

### THE SPIRITUAL BASIS OF WORLD COMMUNITY

I came to several conclusions which I can briefly state. Empires are built on spiritual assumptions. They are founded on certain assumptions about race, on how to make money, how to govern, the right to rule and the will to power. Empires are terribly sensitive about assumptions.

I have said recently that when you break open the modern political struggle you find it a contest over spiritual issues. In other words, the great world economy can now be seen through spiritual windows. That is still more true, it seems to me, when you come to foreign empires.

Since empires are built out of the stuff of which Christianity is also made, Christianity has the right to inquire about these spiritual assumptions.

The most obvious conclusion is that the missionary at the

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best works at the "receiving end of empire." The missionary labors under handicaps in the South Pacific Islands, Africa and India. He must promise to accept the empire as a fact with which he will not tamper. Why should not the churches in Europe and America do something about the "projecting end of empire"? Empires are not made in Hawaii or the Philippines, nor in Java, Africa or India. Empires are born in the minds of certain people in London and New York and Berlin. Dealing with the philosophy and policies of empire is not the task of foreign missions nor of home missions but the responsibility of the churches themselves in the big cities of the United States and Europe in whose pews very often sit the men who are at the "projecting end of empire."

If the church is to deal with empire at the "projecting end," let me enumerate a few items in the high cost of implementing such an effort. It will call for a clergy skilled in spiritual and social criticism. Nothing short of well planned and well financed agencies equipped to gather facts which are pertinent to our programs of Christian civilization will serve us at this present time. In addition to this task shared by every clergyman, there must be trained experts in the field of social relations who will help the church answer the questions as to why and how and with what social results we govern, and why and how and with what social results we trade. The churches need a "secretary of state" and a "secretary of commerce" whose function it will



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be not to win for ourselves places of prestige at state functions but to express the mind of the Christian conscience in times of national crisis with reference to procedure in which we are clearly involved.

This does not mean that the church shall enter the realm of politics as politicians. In the hinterland of all political issues there is a world of human issues, a super-political conscience which, if cultivated by the Christian church, will guarantee the outreach of the Christian mind in political affairs. The world will not continue to watch uncritically the spectacle of missionaries being sent abroad in the same boat with the products of empire-implemented capitalism. What is needed is a program for the church.

The church must expose with all of its agencies of analysis at home and abroad the evils of unsocialized political power.

It must work for amelioration and change of those enterprises and policies of governments that result in disadvantage to native peoples.

It must work for and be sympathetic with the legitimate aspirations of native peoples in other countries and of underprivileged minorities at home which are in harmony with democratic principles.

We must disassociate ourselves from bad practices, both governmental and commercial.

It seems to me that we have to recognize that underneath all this are certain ideas about which the church is concerned. Those ideas have to do with race, with property,

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with power, and with every one of these big examples of empire and capitalism. Back of empire capitalism stand first of all the assumptions of capitalism. Capitalism inevitably drives men to seek the place where they can get raw materials cheapest and where they can get labor cheapest. It also drives them to win markets which they can supply with the products of their mass production. Capitalism must inevitably impel men first of all to these great undeveloped continents where raw materials are abundant. Second, it drives them to seek legislative means whereby the native is forced to work.

We ought to explore and understand and proclaim before the world the difference between what we think might be a good empire and a bad empire. The League of Nations laid down the following rule for the government of colonies: that when an issue came between the welfare of the natives and the welfare of the white man who was out there, it was good policy to put the welfare of the native above all the rest because he was the man who was there and he was the man who would be there when all the rest were gone. It is pretty much a basic assumption that the white man has the right to go there and leave the natives, when he is through with them, spiritually mature and capable of self-government. That I think is Christianity's test of the state.

Finally, democracy in world government means something like the League of Nations. The record of the United States at this point is bad enough to keep us forever humble.

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Only history can tell how much of the world chaos, of the present unrest, can be charged up to those who refused to go forward to some kind of world organization when we had the chance.

## CHAPTER VIII

### *A Free Church in a Free Society*

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**A**S I write this chapter, I am aware that the situation it reflects could not be true of any country in the world except the United States of America. The reasons for this statement will be apparent as the chapter proceeds.

When Roger Williams and Thomas Jefferson threw upon American Protestantism the burden of self-support, they threw upon religion a gigantic burden and involved it in behavior which was far-reaching in its consequences. What did disestablishment mean for our churches? It meant the foregoing of all participation in public funds collected by taxes. This was a new thing in Western history. Most European churches after the Reformation continued to acquiesce in the acceptance of state support.

Along with reliance on voluntary support went maintenance of a married clergy. When Luther married a nun he complicated the problem for future American churches—a problem which Luther's churches, sticking to state sup-



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port, never faced. The seriousness of the problem was never realized until the American churches, holding to the type of clergy set by Luther, undertook a method of support Luther never dared to propose. A married clergy with a high standard of family life dependent on voluntary giving was a new thing in history. I marvel at any woman who, understanding the enormity of the task, would ever marry an American clergyman!

But not only did the American clergy rely upon voluntary support—they dedicated themselves to the maintenance of an educated clergy and an educated laity. Their boards of home missions and education called upon the laity to build schools and colleges from Maine to California, and their success was phenomenal. The church founded a majority of the great educational institutions; it preached the salvation of education in most of the church homes, and it helped to create a national passion for education.

The extension of the churches at home and abroad occurred simultaneously in American Protestantism. John Mason Peck and his fellow home missionaries, who were in the vanguard of the covered wagon trains to the West, and the men who sailed with the clipper ships out to India were friends and belonged to the same spiritual movement. They appeared in American history at the same time that the process of disestablishment of the churches was still going on. The courage of a church which was making a clean break with state support and, at the same time, accepting the re-

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sponsibility of settling the great West with churches and colleges and establishing the world-wide mission to other lands, is one of the great monuments to Christian courage in America. I do not know of any other such outpouring of benevolence as that which came out of the churches east of the Alleghenies for the evangelization and education of the new populations both on their own continent and in distant lands. The story has been only slightly appreciated by the American people.

### HOW MANY CHURCHES?

That this adventure has not been altogether a failure, one look at a statistical picture of religious America proves. Even the condensed summary of membership in religious bodies in the United States as given on the opposite page presents significant evidence on this point.

### WHAT HAPPENS WHEN WE PLANT CHURCHES?

There is nothing which church bodies and their missionary boards do which is so important as the establishment of an adequate number of churches. When we have churches, other agencies follow. After churches have come colleges, hospitals, neighborhood houses and other social institutions. A Mohammedan scholar has said that Christianity interested him because it was the only religion which had created a church, and it was also the most other-worldly and the most socially critical of all religions.

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### SUMMARY OF MEMBERSHIP IN RELIGIOUS BODIES <sup>1</sup>

|                                           | <i>Churches</i> | <i>Inclusive<br/>Member-<br/>ship</i> | <i>13 Years<br/>and Over<br/>Member-<br/>ship</i> |
|-------------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| Protestant Larger Bodies                  | 205,577         | 35,835,828                            | 31,487,608                                        |
| Protestant, etc., Smaller<br>Bodies       | 19,455          | 1,629,827                             | 1,453,357                                         |
| Roman Catholic Church                     | 18,428          | 21,322,688                            | 15,492,016                                        |
| Jewish Congregations                      | 4,150           | 4,081,242                             | 2,930,332                                         |
| Eastern Orthodox: Larger<br>Bodies        | 602             | 992,043                               | 787,925                                           |
| Polish National Catholic<br>Church        | 146             | 189,620                               | 130,838                                           |
| Eastern Separate Body:<br>Armenian Church | 52              | 108,000                               | 95,950                                            |
| GRAND TOTALS                              | 248,410         | 64,159,248                            | 52,378,026                                        |

The first accomplishment in the undergirding of democracy which is to be set down to the credit of all the churches is the establishment of an opportunity for worship in practically all of the communities of the United States. The greatest contribution of the churches to human well-being is the extension of the spiritual resources of a house of worship, unlimited by any dependence on the state, to

<sup>1</sup> Abridged from *Yearbook of American Churches*, edited by Herman C. Weber, p. 5. 1939 Edition. Elmhurst, N. Y., Yearbook of American Churches Press, 1939. Used by permission.

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practically all our American populations. From the standpoint of democracy *worship is basic self-direction*. When Howard Hughes flew around the world he made the statement that he was able to fly by maintaining his celestial correlation and human communication through the radio. When there is available for man a set of constants by which he guides his life as a ship's captain steers his ship, the greatest contribution to man's capacity for self-direction has been made. I once knew a farmhand who refused to work for any man who wouldn't tell him the night before what he was to do the next day. He seemed to think that what he brought to the next day was more important than what the day brought to him.

Worship in its social phases is not unlike group psychoanalysis. Students of religion are constantly pointing out that worship, even in its crudest phases, has made a contribution to self-stabilization.<sup>1</sup> The age-old institution of the confessional, practised chiefly by the Roman Catholic church, and the pastoral calling and counseling which are characteristic of the Protestant churches, are instruments of great effectiveness in helping to stabilize persons and groups.

<sup>1</sup> See A. T. Boisen's study of the eccentric cults in his pamphlet, "Religion and Hard Times" (*Social Action*, March 15, 1939), and J. B. Holt's article concerning the Holiness religions in the September, 1940, issue of *The Sociological Review*.



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### MORE THAN WORSHIP

But the churches of the Protestant faith have done more than establish houses of worship. Much of what now has attained a separate existence was once maintained by the church. There have been three types of social ministry in the history of the Protestant churches in the United States.

The first type is represented by the establishment of theocratic communities in which there is an attempt to maintain a full set of social services under church auspices. An example of this type is found in Mennonite communities. I spent part of one summer among the Mennonites in Kansas. I was impressed with the solid nature of their culture and their inevitably great future. One key to their greatness lies in their widespread adoption of the principle of self-help. I noted the size of their rural churches—one with a membership of seven hundred and fifty, for example, would have a Sunday school enrollment of six hundred and seventy-five. Cooperative buying, selling and marketing, mutual aid insurance companies, old folks' homes and hospitals, all grew up inside an area stimulated by the church. This was not unlike the theocratic society of the early New England Puritans.

The second type of social outreach of the church I would classify as the church with a social ministry in a socially inadequate community. Here I would place the following ministries of the church:

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1. Ministry of education: the colleges, academies and religious education activities maintained on Sunday, as well as weekday and vacation schools of religion.

2. Rescue organizations, such as hospitals, orphanages and homes for the aged.

3. Neighborhood houses, settlements and various forms of service carried on in the typical home mission station.

4. The Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, which are almost coterminous with the extent of the Christian church.

5. Social action organizations, such as good government leagues and non-partisan groups directed toward the problem of citizenship.

Every one of these activities is forbidden to the church in the new totalitarian economies. Many of them have been regarded with some wariness by our own secular social agencies.

The outstanding demonstration in American religious history of what the churches have done to meet the needs of socially inadequate communities is the service that they have carried on, many of them for well over a century, through their denominational boards of home missions. The significance of such an enterprise cannot be conveyed through statistics. The table shown on page 146 may serve, however, to show the scope of home missions in terms of money expended, the variety of activities maintained and the numbers of trained personnel employed.

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The third type of social outreach by the American Protestant church can be characterized as the church in the socially adequate community where the problem is not so much that of supplying social resources which are lacking, as the cooperation of religion with agencies which have taken over a social ministry and have attained something of autonomy. Among the types of social work carried on by the extension agencies of the church are the following:

1. Chaplains in hospitals. The story of such service is well exemplified in the work of Russell Dicks in the Massachusetts General Hospital. The book, *The Art of Ministering to the Sick*,<sup>1</sup> written by Dr. Richard Cabot and Mr. Dicks has become a classic in this field.

2. Chaplains in various kinds of reformatory institutions. A sample of this is the work carried on by graduates of the school for clinical training of the clergy, originally projected by Dr. A. T. Boisen. Gradually the institutions under government agencies are calling for men who have been trained by this method in theological education. This is especially true of the federal penitentiaries in which especially trained chaplains are displacing all others.

3. The ministry of religious programs in institutions of higher learning. Here the church is maintaining a ministry to the university campus which is supplemental to the regular work of church-established colleges.

<sup>1</sup> *The Art of Ministering to the Sick*, by Richard C. Cabot and Russell L. Dicks. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1936.

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### SUMMARY OF HOME MISSIONS BY DENOMINATIONS

| <i>Denomination</i>          | <i>Total Ex-<br/>penditures</i> | <i>Total En-<br/>terprises</i> | <i>Total<br/>Personnel</i> |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| African Methodist Episcopal  | \$15,528                        | 335                            | 335                        |
| American Sunday School Union | 350,000                         | 6,000                          | 183                        |
| Northern Baptist             | 1,945,593                       | 1,237                          | 1,399                      |
| Christian Reformed           | 197,734                         | 92                             | 115                        |
| Congregational-Christian     | 2,301,707                       | 1,175                          | 1,521                      |
| Church of the Brethren       | 34,960                          | 42                             | 43                         |
| Disciples of Christ          | 724,957                         | 350                            | 499                        |
| Evangelical Church           | 871,742                         | 698                            | 700                        |
| Ev. Synod of North America * | 200,595                         | 142                            | 125                        |
| Friends                      | 21,165                          | 26                             | 15                         |
| Methodist Episcopal †        | 3,811,396                       | 3,410                          | 4,428                      |
| Methodist Episcopal South    | 840,405                         | 2,099                          | 2,141                      |
| Methodist Protestant         | 25,286                          | 17                             | 31                         |
| Presbyterian in U.S.         | 1,152,694                       | 2,256                          | 1,341                      |
| Presbyterian in U.S.A.       | 5,078,669                       | 6,847                          | 3,863                      |
| Protestant Episcopal         | 3,008,877                       | 2,394                          | 2,497                      |
| Reformed Church in America   | 311,067                         | 182                            | 190                        |
| Reformed Church in U.S.*     | 222,518                         | 230                            | 157                        |
| United Brethren              | 73,745                          | 112                            | 108                        |
| United Church of Canada      | 1,175,212                       | 1,327                          | 1,129                      |
| United Lutheran Church       | 2,128,240                       | 509                            | 419                        |
| United Presbyterian          | 401,798                         | 173                            | 285                        |
| TOTAL                        | \$24,893,888                    | 29,653                         | 21,524                     |

\* Now a part of the Evangelical and Reformed Church.

† The three Methodist bodies here listed now form the Methodist Church.

NOTE: The above table is condensed from *Home Missions Today and Tomorrow*, edited by Hermann N. Morse, p. 31 (New York, Home Missions Council, 1934), and is used by permission. In the period following the publication of this book, there has been an average



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4. The cooperation of the religious forces in rural communities, often aided by home mission groups, with other county planning agencies such as the Farm Bureau and the varied extension services provided by the government. An excellent example of such sharing is found in the Campaign for Christ in Jasper County, Illinois, where the Roman Catholic, Protestant and various state agencies have a working alliance for a new type of social well-being for the county.

5. Citizenship activities in which the churches work in a non-partisan way with different branches of government duly charged with responsibility in law enforcement or social service. It is not necessary to multiply the instances of work of this kind. The problem here is not that of over-time social work on the part of the church; it is the problem of the coordination of legitimate church activities with the great social forces of a more mature social order than that with which the church had to deal in the last century.

Of this type of work it is necessary to recognize that its development is very much in the future. The enormous growth of the welfare state, the recognition that the separa-

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reduction of approximately twelve per cent in denominational expenditures for home missions and in number of enterprises. The personnel, however, has not been reduced to the same extent, for many home missionaries have continued their work despite lowered salaries. The American Sunday School Union, while not a denomination, is included here because of its work in the extension of Sunday schools into territory not otherwise served.

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tion of church and state does not solve the problem of an organic culture, brings to the forefront the importance of experiments of this kind.

### DEMOCRATIC CONTROL IN SOCIAL WORK

As one views this threefold outreach of the church into prevailing culture he is aware that in all the new systems of government such as National Socialism, communism and fascism, the right of such outreach is denied. He is aware also that many of the prevailing authorities in social work deny this right to the church on the theory that the church is always selfish. The problem which has ever faced the administration of this institutional activity is the problem of keeping it directed toward human welfare and ridding it of unworthy motives. There are five sources of control in every benevolent adventure, and every one of them can deflect the venture into a selfish channel. Those five sources are:

1. The group which gives the money.
2. The board of directors which administers it.
3. The professional staff which is employed for the purpose.
4. The physical housing of the institution.
5. The clientele to be served.

There is not space here to elaborate on this problem, but it must be met in every administrative act in connection with the social outreach of the church. If these institutions are to serve democracy, these five sources of control must

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be faced, and the only solution lies in focusing all of them on a true social objective directed toward the well-being of the people served. The extent of these social ministries can be symbolized by that long list of American colleges which had their rootage in church support; and to them must be added a list of three hundred and eighty-one hospitals, two hundred and eighty-eight homes for the aged, and three hundred and ninety-one homes for children supported by Protestant churches and by those various types of intermediate organizations which an American sociologist claims as a unique sociological contribution to the problem of the relationship between the church and the state. Of course, the assumption that if such work were administered by the state or by privately financed corporations, it would be free from bias, strikes one as quite humorous. Illustrations of bias in such administrations would be easy to multiply.

### ORGANIZATION OR SERVICE?

That which the churches urge upon industry—namely, organization for service—must also become the rule of the church. Until ecclesiastical leaders can practise this moral self-renunciation, they have no right to speak to a world whose greatest sin is the failure to subordinate social organization to the principle of service.

Although the denominational organization of society is not at present always effective, it is necessary to admit that probably more people have learned voluntary brotherly

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cooperation through denominational action than in any other non-political way. The denominational unit of organization has led millions of people in great cooperative activity. By it, churches were planted in almost every community in America, from New England to California. The American people during every decade of the last century settled a territory almost as large as Central Europe, and the denominational missionary organizations of America have belted the globe with their benevolent undertakings. This has been a voluntary cooperation in obedience to a common ideal. Although large and necessary readjustments must be made in denominational organization, the church has given to millions of people an experience in social cooperation in denominational groups which has been their most successful and significant experience in social action. It is not necessary to scrap this unit, but rather to eliminate the waste which grows out of it, by comity and cooperation.

### WELLSPRINGS OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

The following list of benevolent objects to which one New England church contributed annually suggests the capacity of an American church to undergird not only missions and church extension but social welfare in its community:

|                                                      |                                                         |
|------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions | Pomeroy Home for Orphans<br>Newton Home for Aged People |
|------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|



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|                                                |                                                             |
|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| Congregational Home Missionary Society         | Straight University                                         |
| Massachusetts Home Missionary Society          | Stearns School Settlement                                   |
| Congregational Education Society               | American McAll Association                                  |
| Congregational Church Building Society         | Starving Children of Europe                                 |
| American Missionary Association                | Federal Council of Churches                                 |
| Congregational Sunday School Extension Society | Hampton Institute                                           |
| Board of Ministerial Aid                       | General Theological Library                                 |
| Congregational Church Union                    | Evangelistic Association of New England Hospital Visitation |
| Boston City Missionary Society                 | Daily Vacation Bible School                                 |
| Seaman's Friend Society                        | Church Relief Fund                                          |
| Woman's Seaman's Friend Society                | Vacation Fund                                               |
| Massachusetts Federation of Churches           | Florence Crittenden League                                  |
| Greater Boston Federation of Churches          | Newton District Nursing Association                         |
| North Church (Nonantum)                        | Berea College                                               |
| Italian Mission (Nonantum)                     | Springfield Y.M.C.A. Training School                        |
| Pilgrim Memorial Fund                          | New England Home for Little Wanderers                       |
| American Bible Society                         | Boston Dispensary                                           |
| Massachusetts Bible Society                    | New England Peabody Home                                    |
| Newton Hospital                                | Tuskegee Institute                                          |
| Boston Chinese Mission                         | Boston Children's Aid Society                               |
| Newton Welfare Bureau                          | Boston North End Mission Y.M.C.A.                           |
| International College at Springfield           | Y.W.C.A.                                                    |
|                                                | Interchurch Campaign                                        |
|                                                | Northland College                                           |
|                                                | American Women's Hospital                                   |

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|                                        |                                              |
|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| House of Good Will (East<br>Boston)    | Armenian and Syrian Relief<br>Serbian Relief |
| Walker Missionary Home<br>(Auburndale) |                                              |

TOTAL—about \$40,000

This list is stupendous. It represents a participation in all the old-line enthusiasms of missionary work plus a regard for community agencies which are carrying on social work in areas adjacent to the church. The reflex influence of such a constant giving, year after year, can only result in a true social-mindedness.

Another angle from which can be seen the public-minded efforts of the church in its outreach in American life is the program of missionary education undertaken by the boards of home and foreign missions for the purpose of interpreting the backgrounds, aims and growth of their work in this country and overseas. From the first years of the present century this educational task has been carried on as a cooperative venture by many denominations. Their official agencies—the Missionary Education Movement, the Council of Women for Home Missions and the Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions—have published and distributed in the last forty years approximately ten million books for group study and individual reading. The list of topics treated in the annual study programs of the churches has included all the major racial minorities in the United States, and every country of the world reached by

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foreign missions. All this represents an adventure in cultivating public-mindedness, the like of which no other agency can show. As one reads these books he is impressed with the fact that here is a body of literature which has fought the petty absolutes of race, class and geography, and has paved the way for an inclusive world fellowship.

### PIONEERING ON NEW FRONTIERS

There has recently come to my desk a government pamphlet entitled "Technology on the Farm." This pamphlet, the work of over one hundred economists, charts the recent changes which have come in agriculture because of the new technological development. It tells us that the number of tractors in use in the United States has doubled in the last ten years. It predicts that five hundred thousand more tractors will be in use by 1950. It tells us that motor equipment has already displaced ten million horses on the farm in the last twenty-five years, and predicts that there will be a displacement of another million and a half horses and mules before 1950. At the same time that this has been going on, new technological information has doubled and trebled the production in plant raising. Not only have horses and mules been made unnecessary on the farm, but perhaps in the next decade five hundred thousand farm workers will be superfluous.

In a word, agriculture is going through the same kind of change which came in manufacturing when the machine

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displaced the "mother and daughter" power in the household economy. Other forces will, without doubt, bring about population displacement. The conscription of youth for military training dislodges from the rural sections hundreds of thousands who will never return. Where they will go when military necessity ceases to exist still remains a great national problem. Part of the people now being forced off the land are drifting into the cities. At the same time that great populations are crowding into urban centers, the cities themselves are undergoing a process of internal decay which makes it possible to say, for example, that fifty square miles in the center of Chicago have become "blighted" areas. Slum reconstruction is one of the major necessities of the next decade.

From the standpoint of the church, the problem only begins. Into a new area will move a thousand families overnight. There has been no institutional preparation for such moves. Protestantism at the present time is practically helpless either to plan new churches or to devise the necessary cooperation to meet the needs of such population movements which almost instantaneously create new communities. Here will be one of the tests as to whether Protestantism can survive in the future. One need not be hopeless about this. There is a record of pioneering in the past that ought to give us assurance in the face of these new problems.



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### THE CHURCH DOES PIONEER

A great deal of the social adventuring of the church into new areas is pioneering work which later is followed by other social agencies and often by the state. Harry E. Drobisch was State Director of Rural Rehabilitation in California. He saw the distressing condition of the migrant workers on the farms of California, who were living on the ditch banks where sanitary conditions were unbelievably bad. He made up his mind that something must be done about it. And then he discovered that the church had already been working for years in this area. The late Adela J. Ballard, serving at that time under the auspices of the Council of Women for Home Missions, had been ministering to the migrant workers, especially in the California fields. In Drobisch's own words: "Adela Ballard ran interference for us in government work for better housing for the migrants." In 1927 Miss Ballard wrote to Mrs. Paul Raymond: "Think of me often; there are many problems but I believe it is God's work, and if it is, he is with it."

W. W. Alexander, in his remarkable service for the Resettlement Administration, was another Christian worker who opened up many helpful contacts between welfare agencies and the government. Alexander brought a missionary mind to his task, and was sensitive to need and ready to cooperate. Some of us know that his missionary mind had

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been developed in interracial commissions with which he was associated in the South.

For half a century the missionaries in the mountains of the South had been cultivating the public mind about the presence of national problems among the mountaineers. At the end of that time, when the government came forward with great engineering projects in the Tennessee Valley, the people had been prepared to receive and cooperate in this undertaking for the benefit of the hill folk. A new attitude is now developing with reference to education for the Negroes, but the training of these people has been a passion on the part of a number of the great denominations ever since the War between the States, in the very midst of which several of the home missionary societies began this work.

The nation is now turning to adult education in forums and discussion groups, but for a very long time over half the forums in the United States were inside of churches. Out of fifty-five neighborhood houses and social settlements in Chicago, thirty-three are still sponsored by church groups. Visitors see great herds of reindeer roaming the mountainsides of Alaska. These reindeer were introduced originally into Alaska by the great home missionary, Sheldon Jackson.

The fact that the church has pioneered in the past would seem to give us assurance that it can continue to pioneer in the future.

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### LET THE CHURCH BE THE CHURCH

There is point, however, in the strong statement made by the Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State when it insisted that we "let the church be the church." What can the church do? It can lead into the community an invasion of great ideas about God, duty, human fellowship, sin and righteousness. It can promote a spirit of integrity in human relationships. If we turn to these great new contending systems of political organization, we are impressed with the conviction that the basic argument is not over questions of social organization, but of what is worthy of supreme devotion. The contention is over those great questions which are the stuff out of which religion is made.

These issues have been faced often in the historic development of Christianity. Records of the struggle are in the Bible. They are written in the great historic contests through which our religion has gone. Nothing is more pathetic than for a religious organization to become bogged down in programs of so-called "service" while the hot issues of righteousness are being fought out by men who are battling for the issues about which the church ought to be primarily concerned.

The modern church must face the problem of being influential in a society in which it has lost the right to exercise anything but moral and spiritual authority. A free

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church in a free society means that most of the great social organizations have evolved by a necessary differentiation of function, through which the community as a whole can really attempt to meet its varied needs. They have become of necessity independent of the church, although they may be in sympathy with it.

It is also true that the modern church has freed itself from the state, and enjoys a like freedom from any kind of political domination. In the Middle Ages the church claimed and exercised the right to compel all organizations to develop inside the church. The relation between the church and social organizations was a simple one. The church manipulated and controlled the social order. It cannot be said that the Puritans solved the problem of a free church in a free community and accomplished the absolute separation between the church and state. But whereas this was necessary from the standpoint of the church and other social organizations, it does not solve the problem which must ever arise so long as the church feels a sense of responsibility for the social order. The church cannot control society; society cannot control the church. The church cannot ignore the social order; the social order cannot ignore the church. The two must work together.

An individual grows in character when he imposes ethical standards upon himself. The case is not different in the various social organizations. The doctor's profession gains in nobility because of the ethical standards which the profes-



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sion has imposed upon itself. The church can well afford to give up an authoritative relationship to any social group if it can see that group imposing upon itself the ethical standards for which the church stands. It is far better, from the standpoint of a stable social order, to see a group of businessmen taking for their motto, "He profits best who serves best," than to have these men dependent upon the edicts of the church for their social control.

The development of national consciousness to the high degree which it has recently reached will not be a misfortune if this national consciousness directs itself to the task of developing national codes of honor which are Christian. The rising tide of class consciousness in the laborer and the farmer will work out for good if class consciousness can be tempered by Christian consciousness, that is, by the consciousness of the larger brotherhood. If the church can, by leadership, by the proclaiming of moral ideals, and by the contagion of its own high spirit, influence these organizations to impose upon themselves Christian standards, and at the same time leave them free, we will have realized the ideal of a free church in a free society.

The modern church has not been unmindful of this problem, and is struggling with the technique of cooperation among free churches, free social organizations and institutions of government. We see a good illustration of this in the multiplication of auxiliary organizations which serve to relate the church to special problems, while at the same

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time leaving the organic church free. We have, for instance, in the community club an organization largely made up of church members who are banded together to promote community welfare and to carry the ideals of the church in the community life without bringing in the complicating problems which would arise if the church, as such, tried to do this work. We see in the non-partisan Good Government Leagues and in the Anti-Saloon League examples of special organizations developed to a large extent by church members who are dealing with political questions. The Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association are relating the church to certain community problems in a very effective way. In the widely-spread network of businessmen's service clubs, we have groups who are seeking to standardize the ethical codes of business in accordance with Christian principles. Thus the modern church is working at the task of being influential in a social order which it does not desire to manipulate, but for which it feels a moral responsibility. In every case, the church must maintain its own freedom and realize that society can be saved only when its various social groups impose upon themselves the standards of service and work together.

In proportion as the church loses its power to dictate, it must enlarge its power to educate. Democracy will give large freedom to the militant group which seeks to live by the educational method. This education must not be satisfied

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with the enlightenment of the few. It must project itself until it leavens the mass mind. It is not easy for the church to seek to educate the masses of the people, but that is a vital part of its mission. The great channels of publicity which reach to every part of the country must carry its message. It must make better use of its own channels of publicity and education. It must vastly extend and stimulate its study groups and its discussion groups, its forums and its public assemblies. For only by so doing can it have discharged its obligation to Christianize public opinion, which is, after all, the ultimate source of American law and order.

## CHAPTER IX

### *A New Crusade*

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THE time has come for a new crusade. The wild men with their short-time objectives have led us long enough. The tame men, who can see all sides of a question and finally are willing to rationalize the status quo, have lulled us to sleep too long. Christians who believe that their pilgrimage to spiritual maturity requires a social order in which it is possible for common men to make choices and accept responsibility, that fellowship offers a more enduring cohesion than a society based on force and fear, must find their appropriate standards and march to the rescue of civilization. Their call is not to destroy but to fulfill.

Democracy needs a twofold defense. While not closing our eyes to its political expression and need for defense, we recognize that both democracy and the world require a successful demonstration that the democratic order will work. We need industries which believe that all work can be a cooperative adventure and can bring it to realization. We need cities which believe in the democratic way of life and



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can make government a cooperative effort of all forces composing a city. We need rural communities which take their place in a national adventure for welfare which does not forego the cooperation of the local communities. We need nations which recognize that international cooperation is necessary and possible.

Now, manifestly, this crusade cannot come without a renewal of faith. It cannot come without the cooperation of all the free agencies—the labor unions, the cooperatives and the industrial organizations, the vocations and professions. It is of the essence of democracy that it should be so. But recognizing all this, it is the question of the total end of our existence which is at stake, that is, religion. Down through the ages the torch of human progress has been carried first by the servant of religion, then by education, then by industry and politics. Once again it is passing to the hand of the servant of religion. The great spiritual truths of Christianity and democracy call for men of faith for their appreciation and defense.

The morale of the church in the West is built around crusades. Our American clergy undergirded the struggle for self-government in the first century of our existence. The leaders accepted the separation of church and state as an adventure of mutual advantage to both. By voluntary offerings, a free church, with an educated and married clergy, has been supported since the early part of the last century. These churches, which trusted their existence to

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voluntary giving, accepted the challenge of providing churches and colleges for the largest valley ever opened up to rapid settlement by man. Over other valleys humanity has spread at the pace of the ox; here there was the speed of the iron rail and the steam engine.

When new people with strange tongues came on the scene, these churches accepted the mission of translating the gospel into these languages and developing new adaptations. They established schools and colleges for the illiterate. Out to the frontier went the church and fought the four great racial scourges—intemperance, prostitution, gambling and ignorance. It developed a special concern for the isolated and backward people. Dwellers on the seacoast and in the mountain valleys have felt the comradeship of its missions. Before the state came into the picture the church carried half the burden of higher education, and until recently in modern cities it was responsible for hospitalization. The fourfold program of the Christian associations has been institutionalized in every major community in America. The summer conferences, begun first by the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association and now adopted by all the churches, are probably the most rapidly growing and most widely extended pieces of free voluntary adult education in the country.

It will not do to dismiss the church easily with some glib phrases which represent shallow thinking and less responsible acting. If any institution can be counted upon to work

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for freedom of function among the agencies which serve modern society, it will be that institution which has paid the heaviest price that there might be mutual freedom of church and state.

Will the youth of America sacrifice for the church as their forebears have in the past?

One of the most interesting periods in the world's history was when the Roman Empire, assuming for itself the sanctity of a holy cause, surrounding its emperor with an adoration amounting almost to worship, giving to its laws the sanctity of a moral code and relying on the motives of force and fear, was challenged by Hebrew Messianism, representing God's revelation over two thousand years to a group of people who had been engaged in moral and spiritual discovery—a Messianism which challenged the Roman Empire at four points.

It said that God, revealed in Christ and not in the emperor, was the legitimate object of worship, that the basis of social cohesion should be social trust and faith and not force and fear, that man was to be guided not by adherence to law but by his social imagination. If you want to know how to treat your neighbor, put yourself in his place. All evil, adultery and murder especially, go back to the evil imagination; the purification of the heart is the only basis for right conduct. Finally, it lifted the cross instead of the sword as a symbol of social progress. These two forces—the Roman Empire and the early Christian church—fought it

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out around the Mediterranean Sea, and the result was the revelation that at the center of the cosmic structure is love.

That battle is being fought over again. When I entered college, the most important person in society was the scientist, because he was answering the questions which society wanted to have answered. He was answering the questions of technique, the questions of *how*. We still honor the scientist, but he is not today answering the questions which society wants to have answered. Men today are asking those questions that have to do with the *why*—the purpose, the great ultimate realities of life; and they are asking the questions which only religion answers. Not the scientist but religious leaders are “on the spot” today.

And for that reason it behooves all of us to take seriously the task we have in mind. Once more, it seems to me, we face the necessity of understanding and appreciating those great intangibles which have been at the center of the Christian cause from its earliest time until now. What is the meaning of God in Christ? What is the meaning of the church? What is the meaning of a society built, not on force and fear, but on persuasion, confidence, love and faith? What is the meaning of the state, if you will? What does life mean in terms of God for all of us?

Not only must we be interested in the spiritual center of life, but we must be interested once more in the church as the institution which keeps the revelation of God in Christ alive in the world. Other religions envy us our



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church. I had some fine students when in India—Brahmans, Mohammedans, Parsees, Christians. Some of those with the purest minds were the Brahman students, and one of them used to say to me: "I want to go back to serve the villages, and I wish that we Hindus had a church back there which would give me my support and let me serve unselfishly the cause of village reconstruction. But the temple where I used to worship, although it is endowed, is falling into ruins, and the endowment has been appropriated by a few selfish people and used for their own advantage. I wish there was a church which could give me backing the way your Christian churches give backing to your young men who go even to foreign lands to serve the good cause." When I thought about his feeling for the church I somehow felt very humble, because I knew how our churches fell short of that admiration which he had for them.

In the next place, you and I must understand the modern state. It will not do to talk about the state as though it were all bad. We are not dealing with the kind of state the early Christian church contended with in the days of the Roman Empire, although it is true we may be encountering it in certain countries. Such states once more are coming to the front. But the state you and I know is one which does so many things well that it is almost impossible to keep from honoring it as the complete servant of society. When I see the state fighting the social scourges of famine, plague, cholera; when I see a state organizing a great police force;

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when I see a state carrying on mass education in a way that no private agency could do it; when I see a state with all its welfare services becoming an agency of mutual aid, I am almost ready to say, "Let the state do it all; it does these things so much better than we can do them as private agencies or as churches that we had better turn the task over to the state."

And yet there are some things which the state does not do well. In discriminating between the services which it does do well and those which it does not do well, we find our task at the present time. The state does not do well those things which have to do with the conscience of people. I have just recently read a book on *Church and State in Latin America*,<sup>1</sup> and on the opening page there is this paragraph:

Former generations thought that religion could be established by the state. This generation knows that the church can only be established in the conscience of people.

We, too, are ready to say that. There is something terrible happening to us when the state sets itself up as the agent and object of supreme devotion, or when it tries, as it is still doing in the world, to be the basis of that religious life which can only be established in the people's conscience. It is just because we need some agency which can stand

<sup>1</sup> *Church and State in Latin America*, by J. L. Mecham. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1934.

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over against the state, look it in the face and criticize and challenge it from the standpoint of conscience, that the church must exist in modern society. There is no other agency that can do this—education cannot do it; the universities cannot do it. The universities in many places are becoming the “yes men” of these totalitarian states, or are finding ways of rationalizing their subservience to the state.

No, there is only one institution which can do it, and there is only one institution which can give one a vocation. We are not going to accomplish anything going out into the world and attacking modern evils with a barrage of words in our own name. I have told many times about the student who came to my office and said to me that he had lost faith in the Christian church, but that he would awfully well like a job teaching in a theological seminary. We have plenty of people at the present time who want to serve in these subsidiary agencies, who throw out an anchor to windward when at the university in the hope that they can get around the process of serving the church. I think the time has come when we ought to say, “Stop fooling about the matter; if we want to serve the church, serve it; it is the only institution that can give us a task; it is the only institution old enough and sufficiently well established in society to make this fight.” The time has come when we will draw the line and say, “Either glorify our ministry in the church or seek opportunities elsewhere.”

More than that, I think it is time to renew our faith in a

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society built not on force and fear, but on persuasion, consent, and mutual loyalty. War, revolution and the philosophy of empire—all of them eventually throw us into the hands of the military power and give us a world built on force and fear and not on faith and mutual loyalty. It is the principle on which the world is organized that is wrong. The nations are still grabbing territory, still anxious to hold more territory than they are entitled to, still desirous of maintaining the superlative value of certain races.

This business of particular states setting themselves up as God's preferred people in running the world will have to stop. In some way, by mutual respect, by persuasion, we will have to build a world not on force, not on empire, but a world that is held together by the social cohesion of love and trust. And that is going to call for all the courageous exploration we can do and all the confidence we can have in the revealing power of God as love. And the two are not contradictory.

When we flew from Guayaquil, Ecuador, to Panama, our pilot was Stephen Dunn. After I reached the United States I saw in the paper that the same plane, piloted by Stephen Dunn, had plunged into the ocean in a storm just off Panama, and all in the ship were lost. I have done a good deal of meditating about that experience since then. I wondered what Stephen Dunn thought of as the plane nosedived into the ocean. I expect he thought about his duty;



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I expect he stayed voluntarily at his task; I have an idea that he had a tremendous regret that eight or nine lives were going down with him.

But I have also wondered what God thought. For one thing, when the plane started down God certainly did not parachute off into irresponsibility with some caustic remarks about the arrogance of man in trying to fly the sky. There are those who think God behaves that way, but if God had done that he would be beneath the contempt of every captain who stuck by his ship or every pilot who stayed with his plane ever since man began to sail the seas or fly the skies.

Or, I can imagine that God said: "Stephen Dunn, this is my adventure as well as yours. There will be better airplanes in the future and human beings who can fly them—and now for you, Stephen Dunn, a plane with silver wings and a star-spangled heaven in which to ride."

That is more like God, it seems to me—the God who expects man to adventure with him and who goes with him into the adventure. It may be that only the obedient can hear the voice of God from the past, but I suspect that the courageous ones help God reveal himself in the present. There is no formula anyone can give us which will save us from the necessity of making a great adventure. We can only seek the help of God, who expects men to adventure and who reveals himself at the point of moral discovery on the part of man.

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There are enough books on library shelves to save Chicago, if Chicago were to be saved by the printed page. There are enough books in the libraries of the world to save civilization, if truth on library shelves were a substitute for truth in the human conscience. The high cost of a democratic society is the development of a generation of people whose spirits are stirred by the great truths of Christianity, and who seek a social order which will give the spirit of Christianity a chance for social expression.

## *Reading List*

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THIS brief list can suggest nothing more than a few of the books and pamphlets which have been issued in recent years on the subject of democracy. The titles selected bear upon various aspects of the theme of this volume. The views of the authors represented here are not necessarily in harmony with those of the author of this book.

A fuller source list in convenient pamphlet form which may be consulted for additional titles is "Democracy: A Reading List," by Benson Y. Landis, published by the American Library Association, Chicago, 1940, twenty-five cents.

Leaders of study and discussion groups basing their work upon this volume may secure a pamphlet guide entitled "Discussion and Program Suggestions for Adults on 'Christianity and Democracy in America,'" by Mrs. E. E. McClintock, which is obtainable from denominational literature headquarters for twenty-five cents.

AMERICAN CANON, THE. Daniel L. Marsh. New York, Abingdon Press, 1940. \$1.00.

AMERICAN FAITH. E. S. Bates. New York, W. W. Norton and Co., 1940. \$3.75.

AMERICAN TOMORROWS. Wayne C. Williams. New York, Fleming H. Revell Co., 1939. \$1.50.

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- CHRISTIAN FAITH AND DEMOCRACY. Gregory Vlastos. (Hazen Books on Religion.) New York, Association Press, 1939. 50 cents.
- CHRISTIAN FAITH AND ECONOMIC CHANGE. Halford E. Luccock. New York, Abingdon Press, 1936. \$2.00.
- "Christianity and Democracy." Benson Y. Landis. New York, Presbyterian Board, 1940. 25 cents.
- CHRISTIANITY AND ECONOMICS. A. D. Lindsay. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1933. \$2.25.
- CHRISTIANITY AND INDUSTRY IN AMERICA. Alva W. Taylor. New York, Missionary Education Movement, 1933. Out of print.
- CHRISTIANITY IN AMERICA. E. G. Homrighausen. New York, Abingdon Press, 1936. \$2.00.
- CITY OF MAN, THE: A DECLARATION ON WORLD DEMOCRACY. A symposium. New York, Viking Press, 1940. \$1.00.
- COMING VICTORY OF DEMOCRACY, THE. Thomas Mann. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1938. \$1.00.
- DEMOCRACY AS A WAY OF LIFE. Boyd H. Bode. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1937. \$1.25.
- DEMOCRACY WORKS. Arthur Garfield Hays. New York, Random House, 1939. \$3.00.
- DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE, THE. T. V. Smith. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939. \$2.50.
- DESERT DEMOCRACY. Roy L. Smith. New York, Abingdon Press, 1939. \$1.50.



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- DO YOU KNOW LABOR? James Myers. Washington, D. C., National Home Library Foundation, 1940. 50 cents.
- FOUR PILLARS OF DEMOCRACY, THE. Edgar J. Goodspeed. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1940. \$2.00.
- "Freedom or Fascism?" New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940. 25 cents.
- "Graham Taylor: Prophet of Democracy." New York, Council for Social Action, 1939. 10 cents.
- IMPASSE OF DEMOCRACY, THE. Ernest S. Griffith. New York, Harrison-Hilton Books, 1939. \$3.00.
- INDUSTRY AND HUMAN WELFARE. William L. Chenery. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1922. \$1.75.
- MORAL BASIS OF DEMOCRACY, THE. Eleanor Roosevelt. New York, Howell, Soskin and Co., Inc., 1940. \$1.50.
- NEW ENGLAND CLERGY AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, THE. Alice M. Baldwin. Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1928. \$3.50.
- PROTESTANTISM'S HOUR OF DECISION. Justin Wroe Nixon. Philadelphia, The Judson Press, 1940. \$1.39.
- "Religion and Hard Times." A. T. Boisen. New York, Council for Social Action, 1939. 10 cents.
- RELIGION AND THE AMERICAN DREAM. Raymond C. Knox. New York, Columbia University Press, 1934. \$1.75.
- "Religion and the Crisis of Democracy: A Quaker View." Howard W. Hintz. Philadelphia, Friends General Conference, 1938. 10 cents.
- RELIGION FOR DEMOCRACY. R. H. Stafford. New York, Abingdon Press. 1938. \$2.00.
- SHALL NOT PERISH FROM THE EARTH. Ralph Barton Perry. New York, Vanguard Press, 1940. \$1.50.

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**SPEAK UP FOR DEMOCRACY: A PRACTICAL PLAN OF ACTION FOR ALL AMERICANS.** Edward L. Bernays. New York, Viking Press, 1940. \$1.00.

Survey Graphic Series, published by the *Survey Graphic* Magazine, 112 East 19th St., New York:

"Calling America: The Challenge of Democracy Reaches Over Here." February, 1939. 50 cents.

"Schools: The Challenge of Democracy to Education." October, 1939. 40 cents.

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**THIS NATION UNDER GOD.** Arthur E. Holt. Chicago, Willett, Clark and Co., 1939. \$2.00.

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